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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 114, NO. 10 NEW YORK, MONDAY, MARCH 11, 1946 NUMBER 1632

Facts on the British Loan

THE WASHINGTON Financial Agreement is up before Congress. It may never get past Congress. Administration leaders give it an even chance of success in its present form.

It needs your help.

Every week the *New Republic* sounds a four-alarm fire bell. We do it again without apology. We believe that the Agreement is one step toward the free and united world that is coming, but will come only if we work for it.

Here are some facts about the Agreement that you can use.

What Is the Agreement? – The loan to Britain is only a part of the Agreement. It provides a line of credit of $3,750 million to be used by Britain up to 1952. From 1951 on, Britain will pay us $140 million a year for fifty years in payment of the debt. Its terms include the liquidation of Lend-Lease.

In exchange, Britain agrees to reorganize her system of trade controls along American lines. She will work for free trade without discrimination, for the abolition of Imperial Preference, for all the obligations of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Trade Organization, on which the financial structure of the United Nations depends.

Why Does Britain Need the Loan? – Britain imports two-thirds of her food and most of her raw materials except for coal. She cannot cut down on food imports, for her rations are now below wartime levels. She cannot cut down greatly on imports of materials, since she exports them as manufactured goods.

Britain pays for her imports by exports, by shipping services and by her income from overseas investments.

Britain's exports are at one-third of prewar levels. Her export industries were all fully converted to war production.

Britain lost one-half of her prewar shipping during the war. Her merchant fleet is still far below prewar levels.

Britain, which was the world's creditor, has become the world's debtor, in order to finance the war. She owed $2 billion to other countries in 1938. She owes $13 billion now. Her income from overseas investment is less than half its prewar level.

Will the Agreement Help Us? – Of course it will. It is attacked as a financial loss. If it were a total loss, then, as Henry Wallace has said, the cost to us would be equal to fifteen days of war. Did Britain's effort between 1939 and December 7, 1941, shorten the war by fifteen days?

It has been attacked as inflationary. But the funds will be used sparingly by Britain in 1946. The study of the Committee for Economic Development argues that we are in for a heavy depression. Prosperity in America depends in part upon a high level of world trade. Britain buys one-fifth of the world's exports. She buys $600 million of goods alone from America every year. The loan is in our narrowest self-interest.

The loan is attacked as a means of expanding British

CONTENTS

Editorials

Facts on the British Loan 331
Trouble in Manchuria 334
Vandenberg on the UNO 335
The GM Strike 336

General Articles

Stocks: Up or Down? . . . George Soule 337
Seversky and the Bomb . . Fletcher Pratt 339
"They've Forgotten Us" . . Ralph G. Martin 341
The New France . . . . . Louis Dolivet 344
The Women's Magazines . . . . . Elizabeth Bancroft Schlesinger 345
Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 348
Coups de Grace . . . . . Stark Young 349
The Bandwagon 350

Correspondence 350

Books in Review

Early American Economics . . George Soule 352
A Basis in the Clouds . . . Arnold Isenberg 354
The Emperor's New Clothes . Isaac Rosenfeld 355
The War in the Pacific . . Louis Falstein 356
Cornish Pasty . . . . . Denis Plimmer 357
A Reader's List 358
Crime and Punishment . . . . . E. H. 358

New Republic News 358

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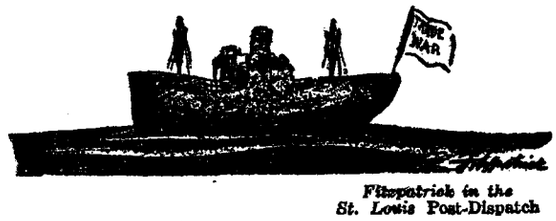
exports in competition with ours. The fact is that failure to pass the loan will force Britain into a disastrous trade war as a means of maintaining her imports.

Does the Agreement Support Imperialism? – *New Republic* editors have been out campaigning for the Agreement. Always the issue of imperialism arises. Many organizations want to attach riders to the loan: it is not to be used for troops in Indonesia; Britain must first agree to give up India, and so on. All this is right in instinct and wrong in practice. We don't withhold federal appropriations for the poll-tax states. We support the appropriations *and* a bill to outlaw the poll tax. We attack those who cripple UNRRA funds with free-press amendments; we work to bring about world freedom of the press through the Commission on Human Rights of the UNO.

The leaders of imperialism in Britain, such as Lord Beaverbrook, are against the loan. They believe in Imperial Preference, in the sterling bloc and all the other financial bonds of the Empire that the Agreement undermines. "Two-thirds of what we owe," Lord Keynes said, "is owed to India, Palestine, Egypt and Eire." If the Agreement is defeated, Britain must strengthen her economic control, and therefore her political control, over these nations. It is a bread-without-butter issue for the British people.

Will the Agreement Be Passed? – Not without real public support.

All the isolationists in Congress are out to get the Agreement. Senators Wheeler and Johnson are hard at work against it. Eight Republican Senators—Bridges, Brooks, Cordon, Ferguson, Gurney, Reed, Wherry and Willis—are sponsoring a resolution clearly designed to discredit the Agreement. Senator Vandenberg hasn't made up his mind. In the House, Representative Karl Stefan is calling for "a twentieth-century Paul Revere" to warn the country that "the British are coming." Representative Dewey Short cries that "as long as they wear ermine and emeralds in London and Moscow" he won't vote for the Agreement.



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Peace Bomb

A strong move is under way to introduce amendments so insulting and unacceptable to the British that they will reject the Agreement, condemning themselves and relieving our isolationists of the responsibility. Senator McFarland is pushing an amendment demanding air bases from the British. A dozen others are ready for introduction in the debate.

A large bloc of progressives in Congress, such as Wayne Morse, Charles La Follette, Warren Magnuson and John Coffee, have given no support to the Agreement. The most alarming fact about the Agreement is the absence so far of any public pressure for it.

What If the Agreement Is Defeated? – Low wartime rations will be perpetuated in Britain. Grumbling will get worse. Black-market racketeering will grow. Reconversion will be delayed. The health and housing programs will be restricted. The Labor Government will face a political crisis as Britain runs out of financial reserves.

Hostility to the United States will grow in Britain. She will be forced to cut away down on American trade. She will do without American movies. She will cut to the barest minimum American tobacco, cotton, timber, farm products and cars. She will tighten Empire controls and exchange controls. She will have to abandon many of the established programs of the UNO for reconstruction and world prosperity.

And the issue is not just reconstruction in Britain. If the new isolationists defeat or weaken this Agreement, then France, the USSR, China and others will also be defeated in seeking economic aid. The Export-Import Bank appropriations will be limited, and rigidly circumscribed. It is an ugly outlook.

What Can We Do? – This is one of many actions: The Banking and Commerce Committees of the House and Senate are responsible for the Agreement. They must report it out favorably if it is to pass. Senator Wagner and Representative Spence are the committee chairmen. To old *New Republic* readers, need we say more?

We need the Holmes spirit. "We will not falter. . . . We will reach the earthworks if we live, and if we fail we will leave our spirits in those who follow and they will not turn back. All is ready. *Bugler, blow the charge.*"

The Shame of Greenwich

Led by Generals Misapprehension and Misrepresentation, the minority of Greenwich citizens who bothered to vote have voted to send the UNO somewhere else. The girls at Hunter College, supported by public

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funds, have also voted to send the UNO to Flushing Meadows or some other place in order that classes in cookery and gymnastics can be conducted for a new enrolment of 1,200 girls that is not yet established.

Because this is a democracy these groups may feel that some importance should be attached by the world to their votes.

Forgive the world if it is not very much impressed. The people at Coventry were not able to vote to send the Luftwaffe elsewhere. The people at Stalingrad and Chungking did not vote to shift their hardships to Odessa and Hankow.

Some Americans seem to feel that the UNO was created by talking and that it is another Elks' convention, or Oddfellows get-together, to go begging from door to door and be kicked on its way.

To the UNO we express our humiliation at the shame of Greenwich. The United Nations was brought into being by the struggle of 50 million soldiers, the deaths of 20 million men and women. It alone stands between mankind and destruction. It is not the UNO which should come to us on its knees: it is we who should go to it.

Our New Spanish Policy

On the surface, the State Department's new Spanish policy appears clear-cut and simple; but it is far from being as bold as it looks. It is based more on satisfying American public opinion than on the hard reality that Spain's ruling groups are not going to yield the substance of their power without a bitter struggle. What we have had is a cautious approach to what the great majority of the American people want —the end of the Franco regime. But it is an approach that obviously dreads the thought of things getting out of hand and of going beyond what the well bred diplomat would want to see established in Spain. That position, weak and hesitant as it is, already is meeting opposition by forces both within and without the State Department. We shall not find the Department grimly determined to push its fight on Franco, but rather under powerful temptation to yield to the new propaganda that will rise before the United Nations meeting in New York on March 21. What is tragic about this is that the greater the weakening of the American position, the greater the danger of civil war in Spain. A strong stand now—so strong that it will convince Spain's real rulers, and not merely Franco, that they must surrender power—is the only hope for a peaceful solution.

Veterans and Housing

Implications of the housing shortage and its impact upon the emotions of returning servicemen have escaped both the average congressman and the old-line veterans' organizations. This was evident in the House debate on the Patman bill and the failure of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars to speak out in its support.

Administration leaders awoke late to the realization that their housing program was not going to ride through Congress on its merits. Frantically, they attempted a last-minute salvage operation on the assumption that the damage in the House could be repaired when the bill reached the Senate.

The emergency housing program is almost as important to the Democratic Party as it is to veterans' families. With it, the nation may see construction started on almost a million new homes before election day. Without it, relief won't even be in sight next November for the three million families now looking for homes of their own.

Prodigious efforts are being made to defeat the Patman bill. Every branch of the industry is fighting one or more of its provisions, which would expand production, encourage prefabrication and prevent profiteering. Cheered on by a well financed lobby, a coalition of Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats approved real-estate speculation by defeating a proposal to take the profit out of buying for resale. The same hypocritical coalition voted to end housing preference for veterans, on June 30, 1947, the moment when most of the new houses built under a veterans' priority program would be reaching the market.

The fate of a $600 million authorization for premium payments to put small producers of materials to work without removing all price ceilings was undecided at the end of the week. This provision is the heart of the emergency program. Without it, construction this year will be limited to a maximum of 400,000 dwelling units.

Whether the Administration can do any better in the Senate will depend largely on how much help it gets from veterans who need homes. Veterans usually have the last word on veterans' legislation—if they shout loud enough.

The HCL Again

The average budget felt another pinch on February 26th, when the government announced that the 16-cent-an-hour pay increase granted to meat-packing workers would mean an average 1.5-percent boost in retail meat prices. To a good many consumers, preparing to pay out approximately three-quarters of a cent more per pound, this increase appears at once unnecessary and suspect. It is unnecessary because none of it is being absorbed by the meat-packing industry—though the Fact-Finding Board's very conservative estimate had been that 5 of the 16 cents should not be passed on—and because none of it is covered by a subsidy, though an earlier promise of one was made

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and though funds from the recently dropped butter subsidy were available. It is worth noting that subsidies are granted to cover farmers' increased costs, but when the worker gets an increase to cover the rising cost of living, this is translated into still higher costs.

The consumer should be wary of the announcement of an "average" increase; it will be interesting to see how much of a jump is actually taken by the popular cuts, as reflected in the Bureau of Labor Standards index. He may wonder, also, how significant this increase, the first in general retail meat prices since April, 1943, will turn out to be. So far, the food price line, despite black markets and temporary aberrations, has been something to rely on. But the opposition is already gunning for the Live Cattle Regulation, which is the heart of meat pricing. And prospects for enforcement of any line are certainly not improved by the recent Senate cut of almost a million dollars from a deficiency appropriation for the OPA. These funds, approved by the House, had been scheduled largely for additional enforcement staff in building materials. The cut, however, is good news to price violators in any field.

Food for Europe

In calling on former President Hoover to help draft a program that will release more food for Europe, President Truman has hit upon the one appeal to which Americans are likely to respond: the appeal to sympathy for the starving. Whatever else is associated with Hoover's name, he is remembered as the head of the American Relief Administration who made a successful appeal to public generosity.

Throughout this war, our national leaders have seemed to feel that the American people are soft and selfish. A few men in Congress have insisted that we be given all we can eat, even though foreigners starve. Mistaking their voices for those of the multitude, even Franklin Roosevelt feared to use rationing as a means of obtaining essential supplies for relief. Perhaps the President, and those he called into conference, can repair some of the damage. We wish them well.

New Attack on Monopoly

A fresh attack on the problem of monopoly in America has been made by the New Council of American Business in its recent call upon Congress for anti-monopoly legislation. This challenge to monopoly on the part of the New Council provides an encouraging contrast to the record of other business organizations since the onset of World War II. The NAM and the Chamber of Commerce have succeeded in stifling anti-trust operations during the war and in preventing the appropriations necessary to make anti-trust activities effective after the war.

The New Council's call for action should also point a new direction in the thinking of our liberal economists who, for the most part, have confined their postwar thinking to the problems of fiscal policy, inflation and labor relations. Its legislative program calls for financial aid to small business, elimination of discriminatory freight rates, prohibition of cartels, more stringent penalties for violation of the anti-trust laws, revision of the patent system, control of trade associations, and other measures to prevent or eliminate monopolistic practices.

Second, it recognizes that "we cannot turn back the clock in the industrial development of our country" and calls for strong controls "to compel existing monopolies to act in the public interest."

Third, it calls for an Anti-Monopoly Advisory Board to help coördinate the activities of the Anti-Trust Division, the Federal Trade Commission and the many regulatory agencies.

Trouble in Manchuria

MANCHURIA HAS AGAIN become a trouble spot. At present it is the focal point for Soviet-Sino-American misunderstandings. Unfortunately, the situation is serious. The usually sober newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao*, goes so far as to say that it contains the seeds of another war. This outburst may be excessive. Yet it indicates with what gravity the situation is viewed in Chinese circles.

The roots of the difficulty are mainly economic. The Japanese turned Manchuria into one of the greatest industrial bases on the Asiatic mainland, and it contains the only heavy industry of any consequence in all China. Naturally, Chiang Kai-shek hoped to fall heir to these riches, which would have given China a head start toward the industrialization she hopes to achieve. Now that hope is fading. The Soviet commander in Mukden has admitted to American correspondents that Russia has removed some of the machinery from Manchurian factories.

The admission of what has been rumored for months came under surprising circumstances. After the correspondents had been kept for many weeks outside Manchuria's gates, they were suddenly permitted to enter Mukden. They were even allowed to tour the city, discovering that most of the factories in what had once been the "Chicago of Manchuria" had been stripped and only a few of the hundreds of plants were in operation. The Russians' statement was only confirmation of what the correspondents had seen with their own eyes. They have not yet been allowed into northern Manchuria, where more of the machinery was located, but presumably the same situation exists there.

Russia's action calls for an explanation. It was under-

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standable that Moscow would want to remove industrial resources from the Russian zone in Germany, but why she should make off with the only machinery on which a presumably friendly ally is dependent is an enigma, even though the equipment is Japanese. The Russian commander believed that the authority was given at a Big Three conference, possibly Yalta. Secretary Byrnes told reporters he didn't know of any such agreement, but that doesn't mean it doesn't exist. Each of the Big Three secret commitments has been denied before it was finally admitted.

Besides the industrial losses, China is understandably apprehensive about the length of the Russian stay in Manchuria. The Red Army has several times promised to leave by January at the latest, but it is still there. Moscow seems to feel Russian troops are entitled to remain as long as American soldiers are in China proper. Technically, the argument is that the Russians are waiting for Chinese troops to take over, and spokesmen for the USSR point out that not long ago, China asked the Red Army to postpone its departure. In so far as the Russian policy is actually dependent on the presence of American troops, we may remark that this attitude was justified as long as American commanders were following the Hurley anti-Communist line, but suspicions seem less justified now that General Marshall is bringing Chungking and Yenan together. Moscow's actions in Manchuria may easily endanger the Kuomintang-Communist rapprochement.

The Kuomintang is evidently not displeased by the way the Chinese public is rallying against Russian moves in Manchuria. The highly nationalistic students are taking to the streets in an unprecedented series of public demonstrations. Chiang is doing nothing to discourage them—if he is not creating them.

Reactionaries in high military circles pounced upon Manchuria as a last-minute object lesson against signing the highly significant army-unification program. They charged that Russia was planning to install the Communist armies in control of Manchuria before leaving. Wisely, Chiang did not let them influence him, bowing to Marshall's conviction that unification was China's only hope.

The arrival of Kuomintang troops seems to have precipitated a clash with Communist soldiers. This should be brought to an end by the army-unification plan, which will give the Kuomintang overwhelming superiority in Manchuria when the proposed military unity is completed, 18 months hence. If the schedule is carried out, by that time there should be 14 government divisions in Manchuria and one Communist.

The situation may grow worse if Moscow continues to insist on sharing in Chungking's control of Manchuria's basic industries. America's position in this crisis is decisive. We should see to it that Russia's strategic interests in Manchuria are satisfied, but that the Chinese get the fullest possible advantage from Manchurian industry, which they so desperately need.

Vandenberg on the UNO

IN HIS REPORT on the first meeting of the United Nations, Senator Vandenberg has demonstrated that he is the most constructive force within the Republican Party behind the cause of collective security—behind America's full-bodied participation in securing the common peace. One need not accept all the implications of his Senate speech to agree that Mr. Vandenberg spoke usefully, significantly and temperately. He spoke with the peculiar power of a convert, for it is plain that he has abandoned isolationism because he knows that there can be no peace for America if there is no peace for the world.

Senator Vandenberg's report was significant and useful. It demonstrated anew, and thereby helped to widen, the notable area of non-partisan agreement in Congress and in the country, endorsing the United Nations and the world commitments essential to make it work. It effectively corrected some of the headline distortions which tended to suggest that the United Nations gave one quick kick at birth and then passed into a coma at London. Thereby it hurt the argument of the unregenerate Senate isolationists who hoped Mr. Vandenberg would at least unintentionally give them valuable arguments.

It raised numerous honest questions about Russian policy and Russian intentions in a framework of manifest balance, good will and sanity, and its effect is to create an atmosphere for the discussion of Russo-American relations that helps to perceive and compose differences rather than jingoistically to aggravate them.

It emphasized that the "desperate need for mutual understanding between democracy in the West and communism in the East" is as great on one side as on the other and that the United States must contribute greatly to the patience and good will essential to this understanding.

It criticized American policy at the London UNO meeting for being vague and vacillating—which it was—but did so in a manner that seeks to strengthen and bolster the Administration rather than undermine it.

His appeal that the United States speak out in behalf of its ideals and purposes as plainly, as vigorously, as candidly as does Russia has the substance of validity, but it can be misleading unless one fastens on what Mr. Vandenberg means rather than what he says. Clarity, vigor and candor are needed ingredients in American foreign policy, but it seems ironical for the Senator to commend Russian diplomacy as a pattern for our own. The truth is that Russian diplomacy was not clear and candid at London. It was bluntly uncandid. In the Greek, Indonesian and Lebanese disputes it flatly accused Britain, but it did not candidly expound and delimit its own security hopes and intentions.

Senator Vandenberg implies, without saying so, that official American policy at London was vacillating. It

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was a delegation which operated under the principle of an "instructed delegation"—its guidance theoretically emanating from Washington; but in fact it received no adequate instructions from Washington. It thus combined the worst of both worlds. It couldn't act without instructions—and it received none. It was permitted little initiative and was given nothing to take its place. For this condition President Truman and Secretary Byrnes must accept responsibility, and improvement can come only from the top.

Senator Vandenberg leaves unsaid, perhaps for reasons of delicacy, what he must know to be true. The leadership of the American UNO delegation at London was entirely out of its depth during the Security Council debates and discussions. With genuine esteem for Mr. Stettinius' good intentions, somebody has got to use some of the candor the Senator is talking about to say quite frankly that Mr. Stettinius was woefully inadequate to the diplomatic company in which he is functioning. In this instance we need both better diplomacy and better diplomats.

The GM Strike

LOOKING BACK over the last two weeks of the General Motors strike, the public is entitled to hold all parties equally responsible. As this is written, the negotiations are only a fountain-pen's length away from settlement. There can be no excuse for failure to sign a contract, which should have taken place before these lines are read.

The government's role in the matter since the issuance of the fact-finding board's report on January 10 has been shockingly ambiguous. Walter Reuther and the CIO United Auto Workers promptly accepted the recommendations; the company, timing its answer neatly to uphold the wavering steel companies' refusal to grant wage increases in their industry, rejected the findings with arrogant contempt for public opinion. Had it been the union, and not the company, that took this action, it is easy to imagine what roars would have issued from the White House and Congress. Instead, the White House did nothing at all to put the heat on GM and force it to accept the fact-finders' decision.

This placid attitude is the more inexcusable when it is recalled that Reuther's fight was principally the government's as well. Almost alone among union leaders, Reuther went all out in strict adherence to and advocacy of the wage-price policy as announced last October by the President. He did a job of education which, as the OPA is the first to admit, was one of the most skillful and effective carried out by any organization, including the OPA itself. Given the support by the government which he deserved, Reuther might have actually put that wage-price policy into effect by the GM example, might have prevented the six weeks' mess which ended in a new and less satisfactory policy.

Besides pressure from the White House, the government had other devices to hold up Reuther's hand. One was to requisition the big materials inventories which have been accumulating in GM warehouses during the strike and reallocate them to other auto manufacturers. Even a serious threat of this action would have had GM screaming "uncle." The idea was pushed by the Labor Department and the OWMR; as might have been expected, it was resisted by the industry-minded Civilian Production Administration. The ground was ostensibly lack of legal authority; but competent lawyers in and out of the government insist that the authority for such action is abundant.

Meantime, the company played a stalling game in an attempt—almost successful—to destroy the power of the union in the plants for the next three or four years. Originally the company had fought the wage and price angle very hard indeed, but for the last several weeks, this had no longer been an issue. Instead, the GM objective was to prevent reactivation of the other contract provisions. Whether by accident or design, GM had let Reuther shoot his bolt and do his astounding publicity job, on the issue of wages and prices. He met with complete success in selling his point of view. But then he found himself confronted with argument over the fact of union strength in the GM plants, the heart of labor relations for years to come, contained in the clauses concerning seniority, promotion, etc.

As the contract now stands, it is excellent in almost every respect. The company has capitulated on each significant point, even offering to grant the best vacation plan in the auto industry. Through concessions and compromises, the difference in wage demands on March 4 was less than one cent. Further delay in signing would needlessly burden a sympathetic public, needlessly prevent the erection of an important signpost pointing to reconversion labor peace.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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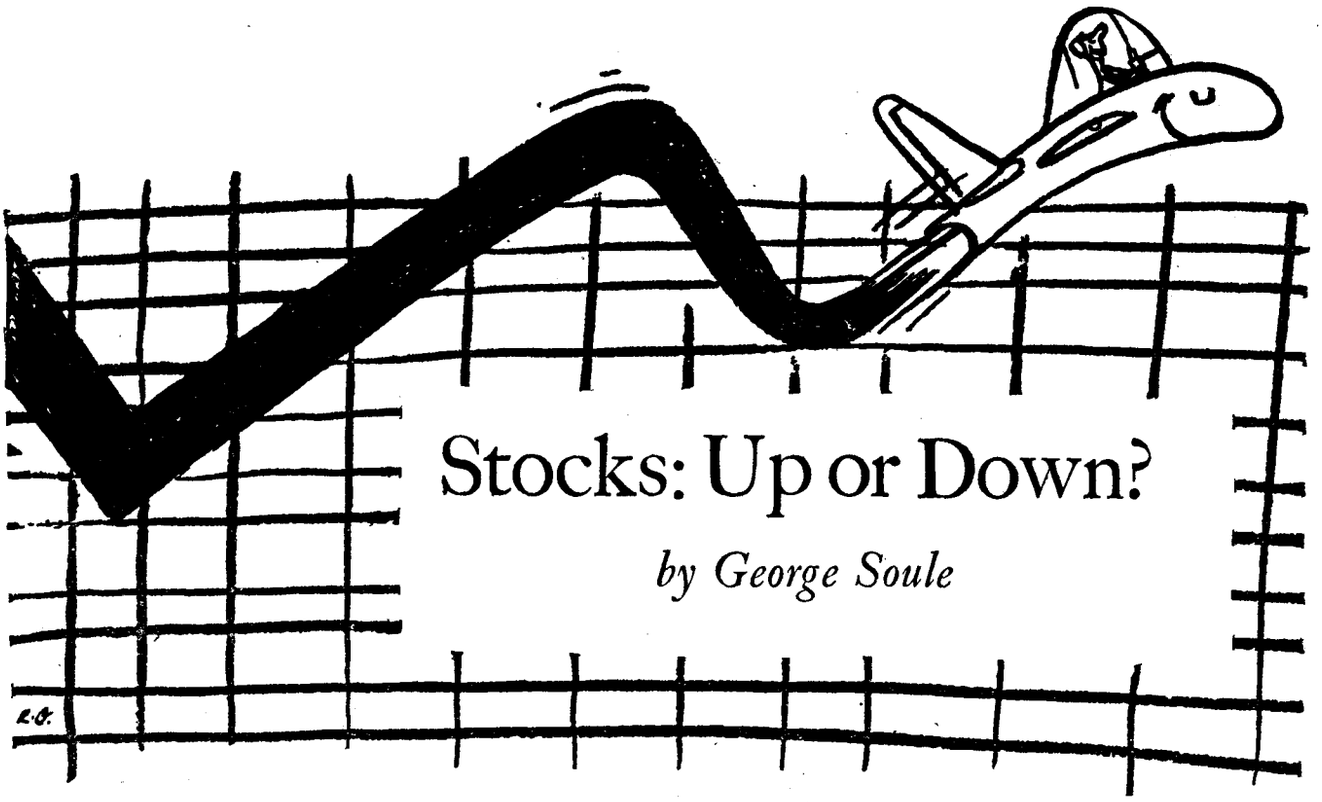

Stocks: Up or Down?

by George Soule

IF AMATEUR GAMBLERS could remember their bad luck more than twenty-four hours, Wall Street would be littered with the broken reputations of those who have attempted to predict the future course of stock prices. Never was this better illustrated than in the boom market at the end of the twenties.

Some of the shrewdest economists in the country decided that the market was too high in 1928, sold their holdings and took their profits. When the market kept on going up, they decided they must have been wrong, bought again and were wiped out in the crash. Roger Babson, a professional investment counselor who was a favorite guide of small speculators, was almost alone when in September, 1929, he forecast a break of 50 to 60 points.

Most of the bad guesses erred in optimism. These guesses came not merely from the fortune tellers who, at the time, were consulted by literally thousands of speculators, but from those in the financial community regarded as the most solid and respectable authorities. Three days before Black Thursday, Professor Irving Fisher of Yale published the statement, "I believe the break of the last few days has driven stocks down to hard rock." On the afternoon of the worst day of the fateful panic, Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan and Company announced that the situation was sound and that many stocks were already too low.

Although the market was to fall still further in succeeding months and the Great Depression was about to begin, the United States Treasury stated on the evening after the panic of October 24 that underlying business security remained unshaken. Two leading British economists, Sir Josiah Stamp and John Maynard Keynes, wrote that the slump would benefit the world because unsound speculation was liquidated. Mr. Keynes argued that credit which had been absorbed by the market would now be released for the use of industry, and commodity prices would recover. President Hoover on October 25 said, "The fundamental business of the country—that is, the production and distribution of goods and services—is on a sound and prosperous basis."

Selling on October 28 affected the strongest companies and canceled all the gain in stock prices which had occurred since the beginning of January. John D. Rockefeller then announced that the fall in security values was unjustified and that he and his son were buying. The Ford Motor Company expressed confidence in the future. On November 3, Fisher again went out on a limb by writing in the New York *Herald Tribune* that stock prices were now "absurdly low." The very next day they went down from 10 to 20 points.

WHAT MAKES THE MARKET TICK?

If the prices of stocks reflected merely actual economic conditions, prediction would be difficult enough. The authorities who went wrong in 1929 were unanimously deceived on this score. They did not anticipate a depression, and believed that the high prices of stocks were merely discounting a growth of profits which was reasonably to be expected.

There had been no inflation in commodity prices or the cost of living. The purchasing power of wages had apparently been increasing as marvelous technological improvements enhanced the productivity of industry. By 1927 and 1928, farm prices had almost regained their prewar parity. Profit margins were ample and profits had showed a steady growth. Businessmen were being careful not to build up too large inventories.

This is the third and last of a series of articles under the general title, "The Big Bull Market." — THE EDITORS

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Some of the most thoughtful economists were inclined to believe that we were on the point of subduing the business cycle. In retrospect we can see that many things were wrong, but even now there is no universal agreement among competent students about the causes of the depression.

What really makes the market go up and down, however, especially over a short period, is not basic economic conditions, but what is in the heads of those who do the stock trading. A really scientific attempt to forecast the market would, by a careful process of sampling, select representative buyers and sellers, give them an intelligence test and subject them to psychoanalysis. Roughly we do know that they are the victims of quite irrational hopes and fears. When the market is going up and they see their profits swelling, they do little but wishful thinking. But when a rumor of bad news startles them they may get panicky. This can occur whether the rumor is true or untrue, and even if, though true, it could have little actual effect on the prospects of business.

The only sound predictions, therefore, are those which are too general to be of much use to a person who wants to make money by speculation. It is undoubtedly true that when prices have risen markedly, they will at some time fall again. They will fall when the number of shares for sale at a given price exceeds the number which people are willing or able to buy at that price. Just when this will occur and how long it will continue is impossible to calculate. If such knowledge were accurate and widespread, there could be no more speculation.

Reasons for More Boom

When speculators bid up the prices of stock so that the yields are scarcely more than those of government bonds, as has recently occurred, they obviously believe that stocks are going higher. Can a logical case be made to support this belief?

During the war, corporate profits rose to more than double the 1939 level, yet dividends were not greatly increased. It is generally expected that profits will remain high and that dividends will soon begin to reflect the extraordinary earnings.

The repeal of excess-profits taxes will in itself tend to increase corporate earnings available for dividends. If, for instance, profits before taxes should be as large in 1946 or 1947 as they were in 1944, profits after taxes would be about 50 percent larger than in 1944 and three or four times as large as in 1939.

Because dividends were not greatly increased during the war, corporations built up huge surpluses, and their savings are now largely in the form of cash or other liquid assets. Never in the history of the nation have they had such financial strength. Even if profits do not grow, they can pay higher dividends.

If prices of goods are changed at all, whether by federal authority or by abolition of price control, they will go higher. Demand for nearly all kinds of goods is obviously greater than supply and will remain so for some time to come. Inflation would boost profits at least for a long enough period to encourage speculation for the rise.

While market traders profess to be worried about the interruptions of production due to strikes and the effect on profits of low volume of output, they are not much worried about the effect of wage increases on profit margins. One of the largest investment services recently made an analysis of United States Steel, in which it pointed out that if wages were increased 15 cents an hour and prices were increased $4 a ton, profits would be larger than before the strike. According to this calculation, a wage increase of this amount would mean a 3.5-percent increase in total costs, while a price increase of $4 would amount to about 8 percent. Thus, even a wage increase of 30 cents an hour would be more than absorbed by the $5 price increase.

There is plenty of money in the hands of people who can use it in purchasing securities. The potential demand for stocks will not be noticeably limited by the 100-percent margin requirement even if bank credit is not utilized for speculation. The war years increased liquid assets in the hands of business and individuals by more than $140 billion. About half of this increase is in the form of currency or bank deposits which earn little or no return. Much of this money has just been awaiting investment. Even the half which is in government bonds can readily be cashed and used for stock purchases if the bondholders think they can do better by buying stocks.

The total value of securities listed on the New York Stock Exchange is not much more than $200 billion. The liquid assets built up by war in the hands of individuals and business thus amount to about 70 percent of the existing value of securities. Channeling to the stock market of a much smaller percentage than this could produce an unprecedented boom in securities.

Arguments of this kind, which often appear in the literature of Wall Street, support the bull market in spite of the frequent unfavorable reactions to daily news dispatches. Wall Street expects a business boom. Even if the grounds for doing so were insecure, the fact that it did expect a boom would create an active demand for shares. There is little doubt that prospective buyers have plenty of purchasing power with which to make this demand effective.

Reasons for Recession

Now let us look at some of the reasons which might impel people to sell stocks and so to exert a depressing influence on prices.

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Those who bought stocks earlier in the boom and already have substantial paper profits may wish to realize these profits by selling now instead of gambling on possible advance into still higher ranges. No doubt many have done so and others will do so. A sufficient amount of "profit-taking" could not only drive prices down, but it could actually start a crash if enough new buying were not attracted into the market.

It is argued that realization of profits in stock trading is hampered by the tax on capital gains. If stocks are held for six months or less, the entire gain is taxed as if it were income. After six months, capital gains are taxed at a rate of not more than 25 percent. This means that those who buy are not likely to sell until at least six months later. It is contended that many are reluctant to sell even after six months because they hope for a reduction of the capital-gains tax. Certainly the effect of the tax is to diminish the volume of trading for quickly realized profits. Once people think the market has definitely started down, however, it might bring a correspondingly large volume of liquidation.

When stock yields are as low as at present, large investors and financial institutions which are primarily concerned with safety are likely to sell stocks and buy bonds. The fact that they have been doing so is indicated by the prices of bonds.

What all these market forces add up to and how they will influence the bulk of sales and purchases at any given time could not be determined without more knowledge than anybody possesses. Anybody who wants to speculate on a further rise should understand that he is by no means betting on a sure thing.

Conditional Prophecies

In general, it may be safe to say that the course of the market will follow one of three patterns.

First, if the inflationary danger which economists almost universally recognize really takes hold, speculators for the rise will, for a time, be in clover. Such an inflationary boom would have a sudden and disastrous end not many months in the future. The chance of realized profits would ultimately depend on selling out in time. Some would do so, but many would probably lose all they had gained.

Second, there may be a longer business boom without inflationary increase in the prices of commodities, lasting until the backlog of demand for automobiles, houses and other consumers' goods is satisfied. It might continue for three or four years. Profits would be high during this period and the trend of stock prices would probably be upward. Unless effective governmental planning were undertaken to maintain production and employment when the eventual recession occurred, we should then have a business depression which might be serious. The market would, of course, respond by falling.

The final possibility is that the advocates of a policy of full employment and an expanding economy would have both the wisdom and the power to effectuate their policy. In this case, those who are bent not upon speculative gains, but upon investing their money safely and earning a moderate return upon it, would be fortunate. Capitalists, large and small, who really want the capitalist system to work would do well to promote this possibility.

Seversky and the Bomb

by Fletcher Pratt

MAJOR ALEXANDER T. DE SEVERSKY has lately had a great deal to say about the effect of the atomic bomb. Since he is a well known individual whose writings in the field of military strategy and tactics have received wide attention, it is important to consider not only what he says, but how he says it, and his possible motives, beyond the mere desire to join the public debate on an urgent issue.

Seversky was sent to inspect Hiroshima and Nagasaki as a special consultant to Secretary of War Patterson with the "assimilated rank" of Brigadier General (it would, incidentally, be interesting to know what that phrase means); on his return he summed up the results in statements in print and before Congress, whose key sentences run: "If dropped on New York or Chicago, one of those bombs would have done no more damage than a 10-ton block-buster; and the results at Hiroshima and Nagasaki could have been achieved by about 200 B-29's loaded with incendiaries, except that fewer Japanese would have been killed.... But in New York, or Chicago, a different kind of atomic bomb exploding in a different fashion, would be needed before it could equal *one* Superfort loaded with high explosives."

From this he develops his argument; we are not to be "hysterical" about the potentialities of the bomb. "The public is alert; we are planning well ahead." This is, of course, just what everyone wants to hear, just as the Germans of the twenties were delighted to learn that it was not themselves but the International

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BOB MONTGOMERY ON TEXAS STEAKS

. . . "Just a few months ago I had luncheon with the then Secretary of Agriculture, Wickard. He served a filet steak. After we finished he said, 'How was the steak; like your Texas steaks?'

"I replied, 'Well, I never did raise any that good, but my neighbors did. Is it a Texas steak?'

"He said, 'Your steak was made by the Monsanto Chemical Company in St. Louis, out of buttermilk and woodpulp.' " – *Dr. R. H. Montgomery, economist, speaking before a Texas lunch club, quoted in a radio broadcast by Paul Bolton.*

Jews who were responsible for World War I. The call to action follows the demonstration in one case as the other; there is no necessity for pressing schemes of world agreement in the face of potential destruction, because there will be no destruction. The dragon's cave is empty.

I repeat, the questions presented by this extraordinary series of statements are three in number—what is the animus behind them, how true they are and what their effect will be, given, as they have been, the widest possible circulation by the method of issuance and the author's quasi-official position as an assimilated general. The first question is not very difficult. Seversky has long been a propagandist for the most extreme claims of the Army Air Force.

The Army Air Force has held that neither atom bombs nor the Navy had anything much to do with the defeat of Japan, which was accomplished by bombing alone, and in a perfectly logical (from his point of view) carrying forward of the argument, Seversky remarks that 200 B-29's loaded with high-explosive bombs would have caused far more destruction in Nagasaki than the atom bomb. (This is, incidentally, a beautiful example of his logic; he is appealing to readers who would have a preference so unthinking that it can only be called an emotion, in favor of the 200 bombers loaded with high explosive.) The fact is that the atomic bomb has placed the Air Force and its fleets of bombers in the position of the class Seversky has always scorned for their persistence in clinging to obsolete instruments —the "battleship admirals."

The second question, that of the bomb's effect, finds the assimilated general in disagreement with practically every reputable scientist or military man. In fact, it finds him in disagreement with himself. In the same statement he says: "True, the atom bombs apparently were released too high for maximum effect," and: "Methods will surely be found for dissipating less of the released energy in space and directing more of it to destruction." He admits that it is the effects, "not of future bombs but of those two," which he is considering. He thus gives an appearance of being moderate and reasonable; but in fact, he stacks his cards completely one way, and drives home in the gullible public mind a badly distorted picture of the facts.

During the war, Seversky used the same device to put into the public consciousness the fallacious idea that we ought to build thousands of airplanes of a design not specified and with capabilities that never have existed as he proposed them, and send them to drop bombs on the Axis. He was extraordinarily successful in putting over his concept, as is attested by the fact that Hollywood, for all its tremors over dealing with ideas, made a movie out of a book that was pure controversy. Most people still believe some of the legends that Seversky propagated in that volume—for instance, that the Japanese battleship *Haruna* was sunk off Luzon on the second day of the war by a B-17, and that the capture of Crete by parachutists was a highly successful operation.

THE DAMAGE done by this propaganda was not very serious because, in spite of the clamor Seversky raised, the military leaders remained beyond reach of his influence. But it is germane to the question of his accuracy in thinking to recall one or two of the conclusions made at that time, and how they have been borne out by events. The quotations are from *Victory Through Air Power.*

"Carriers themselves are exposed to disaster if they come within range of land-based enemy air power." One hundred and fifty carriers, Japanese and American, operated in the Pacific during the war, nearly all of them at some time within range of enemy land-based air power. Only three met the predicted disaster, all flimsy escort carriers and all from Kamikaze.

"Neither will the American Navy ever be able to use its aviation adjunct—except in regions out of touch with the enemy's powerful land-based air forces." The Navy's aviation adjunct conducted campaigns right in the region of land-based air forces not only in the Pacific, but also in southern France.

"Even the operations of raiding submarines become secondary as against the destruction sowed by airplanes —in blockade." The actual case showed 4,871,000 tons of Japanese shipping sunk by submarines, 2,727,000 tons by airplanes, but 80 percent of the latter by carrier planes, which Seversky would not count.

"Just as the scientist learns from an unsuccessful experiment how to achieve success on the next day, so

OUR ENEMIES—THE CHILDREN

"When the big bad wolf of communism, of statism, of regimentation, gets his yellow fangs into you it may be too late to turn backward. . . . This bill is an easy, popular, pleasant way on the road toward regimentation, toward dictatorship. . . . – *Representative Clare Hoffman (R, Mich.), speaking against the bill to give hot lunches to school children.*

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the Battle of Britain has given aerial strategists proof that nations can be wrecked and forced to surrender from the air alone." The argument is very singular: that because the experiment failed, it must succeed the next time. But the strategic-bombing surveys showed that the aerial attacks on Germany were thoroughly disappointing in their results, and most of the damage to factories and refineries in Japan was achieved against installations that had already ceased operating for lack of materials cut off by submarines.

Yet it is on the basis of logic like this, supporting predictions like these, that the former officer of His Imperial Russian Majesty's army informs us it is time to sell the navy for junk, and to quit worrying about the atom bomb. Where this gets us is already clear from the enthusiasm with which the McCormick-Patterson press has received the Seversky pronouncement on the atom bomb, which they take as one more excuse for hiding behind the Atlantic Ocean and paying no attention to what goes on beyond it.

"They've Forgotten Us"

by Ralph G. Martin

THE SMALL ROPED-OFF SECTION of the cold cellar was filled with people waiting to hand their slips to the busy woman behind the desk. This was the welfare section of the United Electrical Workers' Union in Bloomfield, New Jersey, and these people were striking workers wanting food. There was no conversation, no smiles. They all just stood there, quietly, waiting their turn.

A mother came in with her small daughter. She was a long, thin woman with tired eyes and a shawl over her head and her daughter had blond curly hair. As soon as they walked in, the daughter broke away from her mother and pointed to cans of food on the shelves, bursting out with, "Look at all that food, mama . . . mama, look. . . ." Everybody in the room stared at the kid. Still, nobody said anything, nobody smiled.

Standing behind the desk, a short, stocky man was directing three men who were struggling with baskets full of food. "We've got some more stuff coming in from St. Aloysius soon. Don't forget to check it before you bring it in," he warned. They nodded and left.

The man at the desk was James Hull of the union's food-procurement committee and he was worried. "It keeps getting tougher and tougher to get food," he observed. "The house-to-house campaign has slowed down and we've soaked the town merchants pretty hard and they're not doing much business right now. Everybody's been good to us."

His voice took a higher pitch and he waved his hands. "But what are we gonna do? We're feeding 900 of the 7,000 strikers right now and every day we're getting more and more. I stay awake nights trying to dream up new schemes to get more food. I keep thinking of all these people who need it so bad."

He told about the speeches he's been making at churches and union meetings, how one union shelled out $380 by passing the hat and how lots of other donations were coming in through the mail.

"It's when things are blackest that something wonderful pops up out of nowhere," he went on. "Like this invitation we just got to send 89 speakers to 89 different Negro churches in New York this Sunday."

So far, he himself wasn't getting any of the food because he still had some money saved up. Not much, but some. "This food is for those who don't have anything," he said.

Some more men came in carrying baskets and Hull excused himself. "Go over to one of the locals," he suggested, "but come back later."

In the narrow, crowded store where Local 412 had its headquarters, people were busy typing, telephoning, talking in small groups. In the back, a middle-aged man was patiently showing a pretty volunteer just how to work the mimeograph machine. Near the

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window, Albert James Arman was apologizing for not taking me to his home:

"I'm ashamed. Honest, I'm so ashamed that I never invite anybody to my home. Because it really isn't a home. It's just a two-room, dumpy, slummy rat-trap. And if the plumbing stinks up the house or if a light switch breaks down and if you ask the landlord to fix it, he just says, 'If you don't like it—move.' It's bad enough we live there; we never have any guests."

By "we" Arman meant his mother, who has been bedridden for the past 15 years, and his younger sister. He had had to quit school at 14 to help support the family.

"Things were pretty rough then, that depression and everything," he continued, "but now they're even worse. And this is supposed to be Prosperity. Hell, I'm 38 and I can't even make enough money to get married."

He stopped talking to stare at the girl operating the mimeograph machine. "Get married," he blurted out, "that's a laugh. That's almost hysterical, it's so funny." He kept looking at the girl and then gradually quieted down. "I had a girl once. Wonderful woman. Search all over the world for a million years and I wouldn't find anything better for me. When I was in the Navy, we wrote each other all the time. All kinds of plans we had. We weren't sloppy romantic, you understand, but we had hopes and dreams.

"Well, we broke it off. I know it's a dirty deal. She waited so long, and all that. But what the hell was I to do? Take her into the $15-flop we got and support her and my mother and sister all on $34 a week? That wouldn't be marriage, that would be hell."

He was rubbing his hands, looking at them. "I don't know what kind of future I've got. Maybe I don't have any," he went on. "Anyway, I'm going to high school at night. I want my diploma. Can you imagine a guy my age still going to high school?" Quickly, he looked at his watch and said he had to go. He was due on the picket line soon.

STANDING NEARBY, dark, heavy-set Anthony Tenelli admitted that he hadn't registered for union welfare yet. "It's my lousy pride, I guess," he said. "But I've never taken anything from anybody in my life and I just don't like to start. Besides, we still have a couple more $18.75 bonds. After that?" He shrugged his shoulders.

He and his wife lived together with his wife's diabetic mother and her 16-year-old sister, who was still going to school. Just before the strike started, his wife had a baby.

"Funny thing about that kid," he added. "Ever since we got married, that's all my wife and I could talk about—how we wanted a kid worse than anything in the world. Doctor and hospital bills used up most of my mustering-out pay, but I didn't give a damn, I was so happy. Then came the strike. Now don't get me wrong. I want this strike. We need that extra money to live like human beings. But what a time for a kid to come, huh?"

There was something else, too. The constant worry about getting enough stuff for the baby was making his wife nervous and when he'd try to calm her down, he'd get nervous too. Then the baby would start crying and his mother-in-law would pitch in something. . . .

"Sometimes I feel like blowing my top, just exploding," Tenelli continued. "You know, I haven't paid my rent for two months, not since the strike started. If I had to, then it would be Goodbye Charlie for me. I haven't even bought a newspaper because three cents is three cents. And we never go visiting any more because the carfare would buy milk for the baby. So I feel like a rat when I buy a few butts for a nickel, and I used to smoke a couple packs a day.

"Clothes? Are you kidding? Jesus, look at this," he said, showing how torn his cuffs were. "The hell with clothes. I'm talking about money for bread."

He kept staring at his torn cuffs and then he spoke up pleadingly. "What am I supposed to do when worst comes to worst? Stick up a bank?" He tried to smile and couldn't. "The sign I carried on the picket line. Know what it said? It said, 'We fought for freedom and democracy and this is what we got.'"

Outside at the corner, you could see the small semicircle of pickets walking quickly to keep warm. Watching them from across the street was a policeman with his collar turned up, rubbing his hands.

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Down the block, in the larger office of Local 410 headquarters, Dave Thomas was sitting at a desk working over some papers. The radio was tuned into some female quartette, but nobody in the room was listening.

Thomas, an ex-Third Division Marine home from Saipan, was chairman of the union's veteran committee. The first thing he talked about was the demonstration that 500 of the union's veterans had at the state Capitol the week before.

"All we wanted to do was to tell the Governor how much we needed the unemployment compensation, not for ourselves so much, but for our wives and kids and old folks," Thomas declared. "But he wouldn't even see our committee. A Governor is supposed to be an elected servant of the people, a guy you're supposed to be able to see any time you want to, isn't he?"

Thomas' voice got bitter. "Well, the payoff is that the company's representative went down to see the Governor the week afterwards and got right in. How do you like that?"

Something just as bad was the way the people reacted to the 500 vets marching around the Capitol with their signs. No passerby said anything to them; few even stopped to stare.

"They just ignored us," Thomas went on quietly. "I guess that's worse than anything. Even if they had booed, it might have been better. At least we'd know they were noticing us. But making believe we weren't there . . . that hurt."

One of the girls interrupted to ask where the postcards were.

The subject switched to food and Thomas remarked that the welfare people had already started paying the milk bill for his two kids and the only three meals they could afford at home were frankfurters, hamburgers and spaghetti, and they were running short on all of them.

"It's the same old story," Thomas continued. "All that crap the company sent us overseas, how they would really take care of us when we got home. Well, they really did. Now they're just saying, 'I've got mine, hooray for me, the hell with you.' And that vice-chancellor in Newark saying that veterans on the picket line are nothing more than Hitler's stormtroopers. Sometimes I have to keep reminding myself that this is really the United States of America."

Thomas looked skeptically at my note-taking. "I told some of this stuff to a New York reporter last week," he said. "Only it never got into print. I guess newspapers don't like to print stories about how strikers live on almost nothing. I tell you, they've forgotten about us. Nobody cares any more." He smiled thinly. "Pardon me," he added, "but I don't think that this will get printed either."

Several people walked in then, including Bill Doull, veterans' counselor at the union's welfare section. He admitted that fewer than 20 veterans had applied for welfare relief.

"I'm not sure why that is," he said, "because veterans here are just like any other workers, just as typical. Yet when a vet comes around to us, we know that he's really down and out—no bonds, no savings, no nothing. And the only ones we ever get are the ones with kids."

The first thing he tells them is that union welfare isn't charity because they paid for it in dues. Then he makes them even more comfortable by telling them that he himself is getting welfare relief.

"Before I applied, though, I used up all the money I had saved to buy a car," he said. "I used to dream about that car in the Army, the one thing I really wanted. Oh well. . . . "

Back in the basement, Hull had just finished an inventory of another food contribution. "I forgot to tell you," he started out, "that if the company thinks they're going to break this union by keeping us out longer, then they're crazy. This is the first strike this union has had since it got started in 1937 and for the first time the workers are realizing that they're all tied up together on one side of the fence, that they've got to stick together. This union has never been stronger than it is now."

When he finished, he brought me to another part of the cellar where a man and several boys were busy wrapping papers. The man's name was Betts, a former councilman who owned the stationery store upstairs. He had donated the use of this cellar to the union.

"It's the least I could do," Betts said. "If you needed help and you came to me and I could help you, then I would, that's all. We're all human beings, aren't we? What's everything all about if people won't help each other? Or am I crazy?"

Drawings by Bernadine Custer

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The New France

by Louis Dolivet

Paris

LAST NIGHT I had dinner with the new Food Minister of France, Professor Longchambon. He is perhaps the saddest government official in the world. A mineralogist by profession, deeply devoted to scientific research, he has accepted a job in which many professional politicians have failed before him, and he is courageously facing a people at the limit of their patience.

The situation is very serious. After almost six years of war, France's industrial and agricultural economy is close to breakdown. The two factors that could have saved the situation—large imports and financial stability—are absent. Large imports are impossible because of insufficient gold reserves. Financial stability is impossible given a circulation of almost 600 billion francs, 15 times as much as before the war.

On top of this grave economic situation there is the black-market mentality—the product not only of scarcity, but also of habits acquired during the Nazi and Vichy administrations when the state was the enemy and violation of regulations was a patriotic act. During all these years the very will to live was built on the hope of liberation. Had liberation brought with it a little freedom from want, France would have quickly recovered. The maturity wrought by the resistance would have led to a new peak of moral, cultural and social development. But while liberation brought freedom, it hasn't yet brought anything else. Thus, temperately, Longchambon reviewed the situation.

Paris at night is at its saddest. It is like a haunted city. In the daytime it is so beautiful and so moving that glowing hopes of a great renaissance of this capital are permitted. One of the wonders of Paris has always been its rich historic tradition, which from the Bastille to the Concorde has recorded France's struggle for freedom. The resistance has considerably enriched this tradition and on many walls one sees the memorial plates and reads of the deeds of men and women who marched to their death singing the "Marseillaise" or the "Internationale," and often both together.

A year and a half after the liberation, the Assembly is still the meeting place of the resistance movement. Most of the deputies are men who had been condemned to death by the Nazis. Yet here they are, many in simple working clothes, some so shabbily dressed that they would have difficulty being admitted even as visitors to other parliaments, continuing the great democratic tradition of France. It is strange to realize that only a few years ago Goering marched triumphantly through these halls. The first rows in the center are occupied by the government—President Gouin has next to him his two vice-presidents, Communist General Secretary Maurice Thorez and bearded Catholic leader Francisque Gay. The other center rows are occupied by the members of the Socialist Party and the few remaining Radical Socialists. To the right are the members of the MRP, representing a strange mixture of rightists and progressive Catholics, all devoted to de Gaulle. Still further to the right are representatives of different reactionary tendencies, who are at present merging their forces into the new extreme rightist party called Parti Républicain de la Liberté. On the extreme left are the Communists, among whom the white-haired Marcel Cachin is most in evidence. This is the new France.

THE NEW government make a very good impression. In contrast with de Gaulle, President Gouin does not mind interruptions, to which he replies quickly. His speeches contain no appeals to grandeur. They are marked by a great spirit of moderation and by the absolute desire to get along equally with Russia, Britain and America. The two immediate effects of the new

E. Schloss in France-Amérique

Symbols Don't Matter So Long as France Regains Her Strength

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government on foreign policy were a much more conciliatory attitude at the UNO sessions in London on the question of the unconditional transfer of the French mandates of Togoland and the Cameroons to trusteeship, and second, a vigorous attack upon the Franco government preliminary to a break in relations. Under Marius Moutet, the Socialist Minister of Colonies, France is moving rapidly toward a federal union of autonomous units of her empire.

But the major effort of the new government is concentrated on domestic affairs, particularly in the fields of financial stabilization, economic rehabilitation and improvement of food conditions. On the success or failure of these measures depends to a large extent the political future of the Left, and particularly of the Socialist Party. If these measures succeed, France can look forward to a long period of stable government, consisting of a Center-Left-Communist coalition, led by the Socialists.

Up to now, the new government has done very well. The deficit is being cut from 310 billion French francs (more than $2.5 billion) to 160 billion francs. The army is the biggest loser: its numbers will go down from a million to about 500,000 men in all services.

Five o'clock is the most delightful time of Paris. The streets are almost empty. I counted eleven cars in five minutes on the corner of the Madeleine. The hotels have had four thousand vacancies a day since the Americans began to leave.

Before my arrival in Paris, I made the firm decision not to encourage the black market in any way, and particularly to avoid black-market restaurants. So, avoiding the luxury restaurants, I stopped before one which had a menu outside indicating the very modest price of 45 francs and saying that bread ration tickets were required (I had been told that this was a sure sign that a restaurant was legitimate). The owner, who is his own headwaiter, came to my table and asked what I would like to have. With a severe look, I said, "Just what there is on the menu and nothing else." He looked sad—and surprised. He said, "But that is not enough. A big fellow like you must have some steak and wine." His voice was fatherly. His hands described the size of the steak and the throat of the wine bottle.

I smiled, which was the end. He asked no more questions, but brought steak, wine and cheese . . . as in the old days.

The Women's Magazines

by Elizabeth Bancroft Schlesinger

WOMEN'S JOURNALS, judged by their tremendous circulations, are inexhaustible gold mines for publishers and for the advertisers who use them to compete for the housewife's dollar. They also show what those in control decide should be woman's proper interests. By the same token, their success furnishes a clue to feminine gullibility and literary taste. One might think these periodicals old-fashioned in their devotion to what was once called "woman's sphere," except for the fact that one of them boasts of "the largest circulation of any magazine, given it exclusively by women." That they are popular no one can deny, and therefore one's surprise is all the greater at the triviality of their contents. A study in the *New Republic* in 1933 of the five most widely read publications at that time—the *Ladies' Home Journal*, the *Woman's Home Companion*, *McCall's*, *Pictorial Review* and the *Delineator*—revealed that the old pattern established by *Godey's*, *Graham's* and *Peterson's* a hundred years before was still intact. Their stock in trade was the smartest fashions, new recipes prepared and served in the latest wares of their advertisers, and the cult of making their readers beautiful.

Elizabeth Bancroft Schlesinger lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Since that survey was made, twelve of the most eventful years in the lives of women, as well as men, have passed. It is worth while to see whether this experience has affected the content of the monthlies now popular. To find the answer, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, the *Woman's Home Companion* and *McCall's* have been examined over a period of six months (October, 1944, through March, 1945), together with a striking new rival, *Woman's Day*, which sells for two cents over the counter of the Atlantic and Pacific stores. These four, less expensive and less sophisticated than some of the more glamorous and pretentious feminine periodicals of our time, are read by the greatest number of women in the world.

Dumbarton Oaks, Bretton Woods and Yalta were in everyone's mind during this time. There was also a presidential campaign, and the OPA was trying to explain shortages, the advantages of rationing and how to prevent inflation. Moreover, postwar economic and social problems were struggling for consideration and racial clashes were disturbing many communities. These were just a few of the important matters before the nation. Yet even the casual reader would be impressed with the solicitude which the editors displayed in protecting their subscribers from a knowledge of these subjects.

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War and its problems lived with us day and night. Therefore it comes as a shock to discover that none of these women's magazines even mentioned Dumbarton Oaks, Bretton Woods or Yalta, or made any reference to the part women could play in bringing about international coöperation for future peace. This does not mean that there were no articles touching on war. On the contrary there were many. Varying in quality and length, they for the most part played up the emotional impact of the conflict on individuals. Only *McCall's* discussed postwar GI education, although thousands of families are vitally interested in the government's efforts to help veterans obtain further training.

Though the most crucial national election of our lifetime occurred in November, just two of the monthlies gave it anything like adequate treatment. *McCall's* had a major article, "Womanpower in the Election," by Charles and Mary Beard, and in its September issue *Woman's Day* featured the event in a piece by Samuel Grafton, entitled "Hey, You Have a Date in November." The *Woman's Home Companion* contented itself with parallel accounts on a single page, in which two women representing the opposing parties gave reasons for their choices. The *Ladies' Home Journal* preferred to treat the crisis in terms of personalities—"First Ladies on Parade," "Meet the Roosevelts" and "Meet the Deweys"—as if America were choosing the nicest man and the best housekeeper.

To turn to other wartime domestic interests, the OPA, despite its valiant efforts to keep prices down and the wolf of inflation from the door, rated only a short editorial and a gossipy account of rationing experiences in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, and was ignored by the other three. Black markets did not exist so far as these periodicals were concerned—a strange commentary on publications which professed to find in food one of their chief interests. As for better racial understanding, a complete blackout prevailed except for a nationalities series in *Woman's Day*, which, however, did not include the Negro, Jewish or Nisei minority groups.

THE QUESTION naturally arises as to just what the editors and publishers thought American women should be reading during those perilous months. The content of all the magazines was much the same. Food, fashions, beauty hints, home building and decoration, child care, reviews of books, movies and the radio were regular departments. Special features of the *Ladies' Home Journal* included monthly columns by Mrs. Roosevelt and Dorothy Thompson. While it was a pleasure to read Mrs. Roosevelt's honest and wise observations, Miss Thompson, pontificating on

Dr. Bob Montgomery on Atomic Energy

"I am not going to make any witticisms. I am going to scare the living hell out of you. . . .

"We've always had to fight. I don't relish not fighting. I like to fight. But the trouble is, if we fight once more, that's it.

"The next war will be the last war. There won't be any people left. Nor any life of any kind. The earth will revert to its primal state of electricity or energy or whatever you want to call it.

"But if by some luck we don't have another war, and do learn to use this atomic power:

"Well, you can make anything out of anything. Right now, today, you can send a dime to a laboratory in the East and they'll make it into whatever you want. Gold. Diamond. A glass of water. Or a shot of cyanide.

"It's in the laboratory-experiment stage now. Next year you'll be buying a chemical set for your youngster with which he can transmute elements.

"I asked these scientists . . . whether you can have streets paved with gold in Austin if you want them.

"And they said for me to tell you, hell, yes, you can have streets paved with gold. It wouldn't make very good pavement. We can also build pearly gates for them if they'd like.

"And with their new microscopes they're finding out all about germs. It won't be long, if we live, before curing germ diseases will become a job for a high-school boy.

"Inside a year, in my opinion, every germ disease will be gone.

"We are in fact the last earth-bound generation, if we survive. Our children will have the two things for which man has always sought. On the one hand, endless material to make anything. On the other, the power of the gods to make it. But if our children survive us we've got to make this a Christian world. We've got to live in a brotherhood of man.

"I don't like the idea, either, of being brothers to Russians. And Africans, and Republicans. And some Democrats.

"But that's the way it is.

"And it's not something for our children to decide. It's up to us. . . ."

C. M. Ellwell, the book salesman said, "Bob, I haven't got a bomb. What in the hell can I do about it?"

Bob shook his head. "I don't know exactly. Except that you can do your best to tell Washington that we want peace and that we've got to have peace. We probably have to have one world government. A United States of the world."—*Dr. R. H. Montgomery, economist, speaking before a Texas lunch club, quoted in a radio broadcast by Paul Bolton.*

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miscellaneous subjects, muffed the opportunity to interest her sex in working for peace, fighting racial discrimination or stamping out the black market. The *Woman's Home Companion* from time to time polled its subscribers on different subjects, such as whether husbands should control the family finances, what form war memorials should take and whether it was cricket to further the belief in Santa Claus, all perfectly harmless and not stirring too many brain waves. To its credit, however, it also posed the question of peacetime conscription. In addition, this magazine is to be commended for its regular reports from war correspondents. *McCall's* had a "Washington Newsletter," mostly taken up with current shortages, and a preview of the postwar world in terms of housekeeping. "Neighbors on the Homefront," with its genuine flavor of helpful friendliness, consisted of letters from the readers of *Woman's Day*.

BESIDES, each periodical gave attention to a variety of subjects, difficult to classify, but evidently aimed at the diversified, if not always significant, interests of the readers. Of *McCall's* eleven pieces, four dealt with child care; three with the effect of war on the individual; and one each with disease, the handicapped and a visit to a private home. Child care was the subject of 12 of the 44 articles of the *Woman's Home Companion;* home architecture, six; style designing, five; while two were devoted to treatment of the returning veteran, and two others to physical ailments. The remainder chatted about a school for marriage, the children of Hollywood stars, "five hours to solo" and similar matters. In the 43 articles of the *Ladies' Home Journal,* children rated 10; emotional aspects of the war, six; disease and visits to private homes, four each; morals, three; and education, one.

Woman's Day, the homespun member of this glittering company, was the only one to compliment its readers by discussing important public issues in a significant way. It presented arguments for and against compulsory peacetime military service, appraised prewar college education and stressed women's civic duties. Also among its 31 articles were seven on care of children, three on English literature and five on the serviceman. Though many of the other pieces treated trivial subjects, the writing throughout was marked by a certain down-to-earth quality that set it apart from its rivals. Moreover, its reviews of movies and the radio were the most discriminating of the group.

The inevitable fiction—boy-and-girl tales, generally with happy endings—consumed endless space. Attractively colored illustrations, portraying pretty, smartly dressed women courted by handsome men (usually officers), brought a gay, exciting world into the humdrum existence of many readers.

In the case of all the periodicals, advertising occupied at least half the space, providing an explanation for most of the vagaries of editorial direction. Fingering through the pages of temptingly colored foods recalled a world far removed from ration books. These and other advertisements made it difficult to believe that countless young men were dying on the battlefield. Oddly enough, in the midst of this plentiful display, the War Advertising Council grimly warned, "We must head off inflation now and the best way to do it is to save your money. Buy only what you need. Buy and hold all the War Bonds you can afford."

IF THIS half-year period is typical, such is the content of the magazines which millions of women devour each month. The Lynds in their two books on Middletown say that publications like the *New Republic,* the *Nation, Time, Harper's* and the *Atlantic* had a combined circulation of only a few hundreds, while the *Ladies' Home Journal, McCall's* and the *Woman's Home Companion* counted their subscribers by the thousands. To put it differently, in many Middletown homes the women's journals were the only ones taken. A similar situation may be assumed in hundreds of other towns and cities throughout the United States. Nor is there any reason to believe that women supplement their information from the daily press. A recent study of what they look at on the front pages of the newspapers shows that twice as many read the local items as read important domestic and foreign news.

The *Ladies' Home Journal* has a circulation of 4,090,659; the *Woman's Home Companion,* 3,586,231; *Woman's Day,* 2,623,202; and *McCall's,* 3,523,350. Such a reading public would give pause to publishers who felt a sense of social responsibility and were able to shed their advertiser and reader fears. These periodicals could easily sell the OPA and the fight against inflation to their readers. They could weld the housewives of the nation into a force that could have destroyed the evil black markets. By championing an Americanism of equal rights and opportunities for all, they could do much to stem the spread of racial misunderstandings. Moreover, they could lead the women of the nation in a crusade to back up international coöperation for world security. All these subjects indubitably fall within the province of the home; indeed, they are the foundation without which the home is endangered.

The modern world demands that more publishers and editors include, along with the traditional interests of woman, her responsibility as a citizen. Such men have not been unknown in the past. Cyrus H. K. Curtis and Edward Bok fought fearlessly for causes in which they believed, even though many times it cost them dearly in circulation and advertising. "Never underestimate the power of a woman," is the slogan of one of these monthlies. It is ironical that the only ones to do so are the magazines themselves.

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Washington Notes

A New Policy Toward Russia?

SENATOR VANDENBERG is bald on top and wears his hair plastered over his head from the side. He is a good speaker because he puts his heart into it, while still knowing the value of self-restraint. I watched him deliver his speech on Russia in the Senate last week and there was no doubt about it, he struck a popular chord.

Mr. Vandenberg, among other things, was needling the State Department—and particularly Messrs. Byrnes and Stettinius—for failure to take a firmer stand at London. The sequel came quickly: Mr. Byrnes altered his New York address to put more zip into his definition of American foreign policy, especially in regard to Russia. As reflected here in Washington, there has been a substantial shift going on, I think, regarding the USSR. More and more I hear officials reluctantly asking whether we can rely on Russia's good faith. Mr. Vandenberg's speech which, in effect, called upon the United States to "be tough" with Russia, was undoubtedly popular; the only trouble was that he did not indicate any means of carrying it out or, indeed, seem to recognize the implications involved. Watching the Senators line up and walk in front of Mr. Vandenberg's desk after he concluded, I had an odd feeling. There was quite a little scene. There could be no doubt the speech made an impression. But Walter Lippmann's acerb comment helped to put the eloquence in perspective. Some of these Senators who applauded the proposed manifestation of America's strength and "moral leadership" have been the most vociferous in demanding that the boys come home. It is easy to make faces at Russia; but just how far will Senators go in supporting the sacrifices, disciplines, self-denials required in even a friendly duel with communism?

American world leadership demands a lot of things, many of them coming up for discussion here in Washington right now. There is the British loan and the question of financial advances to the rest of the world. There is food and famine relief. There is the question of whether America is going to shake a fist at Russia while demilitarizing herself. There is the question, too, whether we really believe firmly enough in democratic capitalism to take the economic steps necessary to make it work, to prevent a new boom-and-bust. Mr. Vandenberg's speech would have been a good deal stronger if he had gone into some of these little details.

Hearings on the British loan will be protracted. Administration leaders still believe it will pass, though most letters received so far are opposed. Leaders acknowledge it may be "a tight squeeze." While Winston Churchill is in the country he could do a lot to help by ending confusion over the position of the Conservative Party, which he heads. Again and again, loan opponents insist that the British don't really want the loan and point to Tory critics. Mr. Churchill adopted the curious course in Parliament of suggesting that Conservatives abstain from voting either for or against the agreement. Maybe he will mention the matter in one of his forthcoming talks.

Then there is the food problem. Mr. Truman last week finally gave America the anti-famine leadership she so badly needs. Herbert Hoover was brought in to give Republicans partial responsibility for demanding the sacrifices which the Democrats seemed afraid to ask on their own account. The campaign is excellent and its start spirited. Alas, that before it began the fat United States was allowed to reach the point where it was actually welching on previous food commitments to UNRRA. It is still uncertain whether we shall more than meet pledges already given.

Senator Fulbright of Arkansas has introduced a rather breath-taking proposal. It is to use part of the value of American surplus goods abroad to finance mutual exchange of students on a big scale. Hearings have been completed before a subcommittee of the Military Affairs Committee. Mr. Fulbright wants to beat cannon into traveling fellowships. A Rhodes Scholar himself, perhaps he feels that one way to promote American democracy is to bring students of other nations here to see it; one way to achieve moral leadership is to send Americans abroad where they can view world problems at first hand. There is no doubt that the generous remission of Boxer Indemnity funds with which China sent 100 students annually to the United States, had a profound effect on the whole of Asia. Now the United States could do something similar in other foreign lands. Our war material is scattered over the globe; the cost of guarding and servicing it is high; it's too expensive to bring home. The Fulbright proposal is simple: turn it into cultural currency, and spend the proceeds on exchange students.

If the 37 recommendations of the La Follette-Monroney report on "streamlining" Congress were actually adopted, the changes in Washington would be so great that the result would practically amount to a new form of government. The antiquated committee system would be reformed. Majority and minority policy committees would be set up to unify leadership and strengthen party responsibility—the one answer to bloc pressure. The proposal for legislative-executive councils made by Professor Thomas K. Finletter is recommended, a ladder thrown over the wall separating White House from Congress. Will Congress adopt the report? Probably not for years. But confusion and irresponsibility in Washington have reached a point where sooner or later reform simply must come, and the best blueprint, so far, is this historic report.

Notes.—Senator McKellar uses the big official car labelled "V. P."; he's the nearest thing to Vice President the country has. . . . The Iron and Steel Institute spent thousands on advertisements charging the steel union was breaching its contract by striking; President Truman's three-man fact-finding board last week quietly reported there was no violation of the contract in the strike. . . . Legion Commander Stelle who denounces General Omar Bradley, Veterans' Administrator, is the same man who personally presented Hearst with the Legion's highest award, the Distinguished Service Medal.

Washington T. R. B.

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Coups de Grace

Jeb, by Robert Ardrey. Martin Beck Theatre, February 21, 1946.
Truckline Café, by Maxwell Anderson. Belasco Theatre, February 27, 1946.

COUP DE GRACE is an old phrase used for the moment when the knightly hunters delivered the finishing stroke to the fallen quarry. This notice deals with two plays that the knightly reviewers of the daily press apparently finished off in short order, so that both were struck down the very first night.

Mr. Harold Clurman and Mr. Elia Kazan, the producers, in association with the Playwrights' Company, of "Truckline Café," have taken occasion in paid newspaper space to object to this reviewing *status quo*. They are going to close the play, Mr. Clurman and Mr. Kazan declare, because there is no use struggling against these men—the reviewers for newspapers—who are increasingly powerful in deciding what plays are given hearings, "what plays make up the institution that is our Theatre, and what plays are never given a chance to find their audience." However that may be, they are right in saying that the intention of the play is to express the slow, chaotic knitting together of a nation of people that the war has ripped apart. They then claim a meaning for the play outside of neat construction and "belly-laughs"; they speak of the first-night audience's applause for the climactic scene, etc., etc.

There is something in what is said there. Mr. Anderson's play does implicate lofty and subtle and national motifs, though these are but meagerly achieved in his actual creation of the scenes. They are acts of the will rather than of the creative imagination. The main trouble in this discussion, as far as concerns Mr. Clurman's and Mr. Kazan's statements, is that the performances of both this play and those previously done under their direction show at times a considerable lack of taste. If I were asked the chief cause of the debacle in any real sense of the Group Theatre, I should say it was the vulgar taste all too often in evidence, the lack of all genuine distinction. Nevertheless, Mr. Anderson's play did not seem to me so boring as the notices had predicted. There were so many people that the eye found relaxation in the changes involved, and the varied incidents, such as the half-mad lover killing his unfaithful woman, the heroine and her involved postwar husband, and so on, kept things moving somewhat. What was lacking was an imaginative binding together of these threads, which fundamentally were related in influence and pressure; and what was also lacking was an avoidance of banal images and speech-making. Such speech-making is as sure a sign of poverty in writing as making faces is the sign of a poor actor. I will say that I was not by any means so bored as I expected to be at "Truckline Café" and much less bored than I was at the last two of Mr. Maxwell Anderson's plays.

Mr. Marlon Brando as the returned soldier who killed his unfaithful beloved showed great promise.

What the fortune of "Jeb" might have been if another play about a Negro returning South had not already taken hold of the Broadway imagination is a question. In "Deep Are the Roots" the situation is more or less the same; the resolution of the dramatic situation is smarter as stagecraft and falser where the truth of the material is concerned. In both these plays the soldier comes back and runs into the local prejudice, the Southern race problem, with its injustice—an injustice that, we should gather from these dramas, is confined solely to the South. "Jeb" has various serious advantages, so far as the truth goes, over its rival: first, the hero loves the South and means to stay there—it is his home, even the food there is what he likes to eat; second, he will return there as soon as the fifth act releases him, for the South is where he wants to be, no matter what wrongs there are.

But who could write a rattling editorial about such a creature, or, by the same token, a last act? "Deep Are the Roots" keeps all that straight; it has the cheap solution of the footlights for a cheap audience. "Jeb" presents, too, a much truer picture of the Southern theme, Negro and all; for the last act of the other play is absurd to any Southerner, though all the clichés and all the prejudice and wrongs have been freely admitted by him. "Jeb" also presents the motif of the "quality" and the "poor whites" in their relations to the Negro, a theme better understood even by the Negroes than by an average Broadway audience, for whom the difference between quality and trash has a wholly different implication.

It is a pity, therefore, that such a play as "Jeb" should be damned by the reviewers and so swiftly called off, while such smooth rubbish as "Deep Are the Roots" goes sailing on in the box-office reports. It is a pity too that such a promising young actor as Mr. Ossie Davis should for the nonce be thrown away; as a performance, his Jeb was at least technically adequate, above average, and had, besides, fine vivid qualities of feeling, bright, warm response and a certain touching sweetness that any Southerner would recognize as belonging to the Negro range of feeling.

For this drama of human pain and inescapable misery of deep-set conflict, Mr. Jo Mielziner has designed settings that I gather have been well praised. A clever and glowing setting for the café where the Negro soldier is robbed of his money comes first, then various Southern settings—the mother's cabin and so on. In a small way they are about as right dramatically for this play as certain Ziegfeld Follies settings would have been for "Everyman" or a drama of the Crucifixion. This did not bother the audience I saw, however. Suffering, problems, history, wreckage—they sat there well fed and cocktailed, saying it did not come off, did it, and have you seen "Deep Are the Roots"? and have you phoned Sid about supper?

Meantime there is the Civil Service in Washington telling me that only two hotels on their list take Negroes, Haitians, or even Latinos from Brazil, etc., and six restaurants; and that something of the same holds true in Boston and Cambridge. For some reason, however, no plays seem to exploit this race material.

Meantime, one technical point, a permanent item, remains, which is that the great final failure of such plays is that the images for their violent motifs, tragic and strong, are supplied already in Southern life more or less, but the last scenes are not. At that point the dramatist can only jabber. Hence the concluding artistic debacle and the rubbish as social record.

STARK YOUNG

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The Bandwagon

Two members of the [Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Jewish Problems in Europe] found a widespread feeling among refugee Jews that anti-Semitism was becoming a threat in the United States and that therefore there was no hope or security there. They were unable to say how the Jews in camps had got this idea. – *Albion Ross in the New York* Times, *February* 17.

Major General Harold R. Bull, chief of staff of United States Forces, European Theatre, commenting today on recent incidents in camps for displaced Jews, said that the Army will do everything in its power to stamp out anti-Semitism among American troops. – *Homer Bigart in the New York* Herald Tribune, *same day.*

Friends of the churchman [Archbishop Josef Mindszenty, Primate of Hungary] declared his attitude toward human beings transcends race or uniform. They said he opposed land reform simply because he did not approve of it. His opponents asserted his opposition stemmed from his ownership of many acres. – *AP dispatch from Budapest.*

. . . A more important question is whether children should be taught to depend upon the federal government to feed them. Should the tender minds of little children be impregnated with the idea that the politicians here in Washington love them more than their own parents? That is really the big question in considering this measure. – *Representative Frederick C. Smith (R, Ohio), speaking on the school-lunch bill, as quoted in the* Congressional Record.

Left Hand, Right Hand

It is further stated that it is a grave sin so subscribe to a liberal newspaper, not only because this would set a bad example, but because it would contribute financially to evil. However, it is stated that it is permissible to read the stock-exchange reports in a liberal newspaper, but this should not be considered as an excuse to read the rest of the paper. – *C. L. Sulzberger, writing in the Louisville* Courier-Journal *on the newest Catholic Church catechism, just printed in Spain.*

Tough-Peace Department

The manpower shortage on Pacific island airports, due to demobilization, was unintentionally dramatized recently. An admiral, a general and a colonel were the only men around to push the boarding ladder away from W. Averell Harriman's plane as the Ambassador to Russia was taking off from Guam for the United States. – *From the Philadelphia* Record.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

"Elections: 1946"

SIR: Thank you very much for the *New Republic* supplement of February 11, "Elections: 1946, Your Chance to Change Congress Now."

Naturally, it is highly gratifying to note that my voting record on the list of test bills selected by the *New Republic* is all plus. This appraisal, by a magazine which is recognized throughout America as an organ of progressive thought, is deeply appreciated by me. I hope to be able to bring it to the attention of the progressive voters in San Francisco.

Washington, D. C. FRANCK R. HAVENNER

Scientists on Atomic-Energy Control

SIR: Readers of the *New Republic* may be interested to see the following letter we have sent to President Truman.

ARTHUR ROBERTS, Corresponding Secretary,
Cambridge, Mass. Association of Cambridge Scientists

[ENCLOSURE]

Dear Mr. President:

The Association of Cambridge Scientists wishes to express its complete approval of your recent letter to Senator McMahon on pending legislation on atomic energy. We feel very deeply on this subject, since most of our members have worked on war projects with some degree of military control or connection, and many of them are nuclear scientists.

We are in complete accord with your suggestions that the development of atomic energy must be under government control, and that the control must be exercised by civilians and not by the military. Our wartime experience has emphasized to us the paramount importance of keeping science from any vestige of military control. Our membership are not unanimous on the mechanisms of administration, the optimum number of members of the commission, and the like. We are, however, unanimous on the extraordinary importance to the future of the world of our adopting a policy which permits freedom of science and which subordinates the military applications of atomic energy to a foreign policy controlled by the civilian heads of the government.

Britain, Iran and Russia

SIR: In an editorial headed "America and the UNO," appearing in the February 25 issue of the *New Republic*, I notice the following statement:

This country served the cause of world peace at the first session, in London, by acting three times as referee between Britain and Russia, first when Iran, at the British behest, accused Russia of interfering in Iranian affairs. . . . "

While similar statements have been made in other places, the assertion that Britain egged on the Iranians is completely untrue. In fact such pressure as Britain did apply was in the other direction.

For the record, here is the pertinent passage from Mr. Bevin's speech of February 21 in the House of Commons:

It has been suggested in many places and by inference in this House that the trouble over Greece and Indonesia arose from the fact that I was responsible for putting Persia on the UNO agenda. As a matter of historic fact, rather outside my province because it is an independent country, I gave advice to the contrary. I felt that UNO was such a new organization that to introduce disputes at its first meeting might endanger its success and I still had faith that if they would agree to the Tripartite Commission I might still make a contribution towards settling the

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Persian Affair once and for all both for Persia and for the great allies affected. One thing that must be done when a small country happens to possess a vital raw material is for the allies so to arrange its business as not to make the small ally the victim of controversy between the big allies. I think that is sound policy. I tried to do it and failed. I can but apologize for failure. At least I tried.

Accordingly it was put on the UNO agenda and I have no doubt that probably our Soviet friends were suspicious of me. I have an honest face but it does not impress them somehow. So they dumped in Indonesia and Greece, but I did not mind that at all. It is said that because this occurred we have endangered the relations between the Soviet Union and ourselves. I do not agree.

JOHN O. RENNIE, Director of Press and Radio,
New York City British Information Services

The GI Attitude

SIR: Apparently your 21-year-old correspondent writing from India (the *New Republic*, January 28) found his GI comrades ignorant, prejudiced and rather stupid. May I offer a dissenting opinion to this too typically negative attitude of intellectuals toward the common GI.

Forty months in the Southwest Pacific proved to my satisfaction that the GI has never learned to express himself in words. Language to him expresses emotions, not ideas. In conversation his negative feelings, always close to the surface, are verbalized, but not his faith.

This ready expression of hostile attitudes is due to lack of emotional and intellectual training originating so far back in childhood and youth that no army orientation program could basically affect it. Yet talk as he may, the common GI has as positive an understanding of the first principles of tolerance and the meaning of freedom and liberty as the sergeant in India.

That the GI doesn't act as he talks is the basic fact, and to score his ideological quotient as zero is an error.

Oak Park, Ill. WALTER ROSENFELS

Yaddo Invites

SIR: During the war the Corporation of Yaddo, at Saratoga Springs, New York, was able to accept only a limited number of guests. This summer, however, its twenty-first season, Yaddo will resume normal operations. Writers, painters, sculptors or composers who are interested in spending some time at Yaddo may receive full information by writing the Executive Director, Mrs. Elizabeth Ames, Yaddo, Saratoga Springs, New York.

New York City GRANVILLE HICKS

Mail Service to Germany and Japan

SIR: A widespread curiosity appears to exist in regard to the government's failure to explain adequately the lack of mail service to Germany and Japan—the only two countries to which the mails have not been reopened. Readers of the *New Republic* may care to assist in prompting government departments to act.

It is variously alleged that mail service is withheld as a form of punishment of enemy peoples, or to keep secret unpleasant facts or to prevent contacts with sympathizers by unreconciled enemy elements.

The truth seems to be, as gathered from communications to the American Civil Liberties Union from the Treasury, State, War and Post Office Departments, that both political and mechanical obstacles stand in the way. Internal communications are still badly shattered in Germany and Japan. No central postal agency has been established in Germany and can only be by agreement of all four occupying powers. The United States is prepared to go ahead alone with opening services to the American zone by spring, so the War Department says, and will then negotiate to extend it to the other zones. The Post Office Department is ready to act when the commander-in-chief in Germany gives the word. In the case of Japan, everything depends apparently on General MacArthur.

Contact with democratic forces outside is so obviously desirable, and the human problems of contact with relatives and friends so great, that every effort should be made to expedite the service for regular mail and parcel post. Tactful inquiries to congressmen and the War Department would appear to be helpful.

New York City ROGER N. BALDWIN

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Clarence Armstrong writes from Washington, D. C., that the problem of Palestine could be settled if sufficient funds were forthcoming to develop the Jordan River for irrigation and water power as suggested by Walter C. Lowdermilk. Mr. Armstrong suggests that the project could be put under UNO supervision, with financial supervision under the International Bank. He feels that restitution by Germany of property which she has taken from European Jews, when she is able to do so, would be a good way to provide part of the funds. Mr. Armstrong also points out that river-valley and other water-power projects in the Middle East would allow both Jews and Arabs a much higher standard of living there, and refers to the restoration of Transjordania through irrigation.

Lieutenant Harold Strauss writes from Tokyo, taking issue on some points of fact and opinion with Tsuyoshi Matsumoto's article on the Japanese elections (the *New Republic*, January 14). Not all the liberal and center parties, he says, wish the position of the Emperor unchanged and there is much discussion in the press of his position. Lieutenant Strauss doubts that there is much chance of a feudal-fascist resurgence now, and certainly not in the Diet, for the "Nazi elements," he writes, ". . . are to be found only in scattered, obscure, unorganized and numerically slight groups of lumpen-proletarians and ex-members of suicide corps. To look for Nazis in the Diet will probably forestall vigilance in watching these groups which are not dangerous now, but may become so during a long period of economic suffering, and *if* they obtain Zaibatsu or other financing." He says a strong democratic movement is unlikely after years of repression. Lieutenant Strauss also denies that there is heavy unemployment and starvation. He concludes, "There are many liberal Americans in Tokyo who think that a thoroughly progressive job is being done in Japan, and their belief has been confirmed by such men as Hugh DeLacy, hardly a tory."

The International Labor Defense, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City, sends us a pamphlet with a list of recent lynchings and police murders of Negroes, many of them war veterans, in the South. To quote: "An ILD representative returning from the South reports, 'In the Georgia county where I went, it is openly admitted that the landlords have set a policy of killing the first Negro veteran who returns to any community, as a warning to all other Negro veterans. This is generally understood down there to be a Southwide pattern, at least in rural communities.' " Those responsible for these lynchings and murders can be prosecuted under the federal civil-rights law by the Department of Justice. The ILD requests our readers to write to Tom Clark, the Attorney General, asking that these cases be prosecuted and to contribute to the campaign against "white supremacy" which the ILD is waging.

The Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care sends us a statement approving President Truman's National Health Program.

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Books in Review

Early American Economics

JOSEPH DORFMAN'S monumental new work[1] can hardly be evaluated in detail, since it is improbable that any student other than its author has so thorough a knowledge of the sources from which it was compiled. Nor is anyone else likely to duplicate his achievement, because the need for a summary of American economic thinking through the Civil War is here abundantly satisfied. To say this is to say that here is a book which henceforth will have a unique place in libraries of American history and economics.

The first impression which emerges from inspection of its pages is the amazing bulk and variety of economic thought in this country from the very beginning of white settlement. The questions with which the writers were concerned seem to include all those which agitate us now. The relationship of foreign trade to the domestic economy, colonial imperialism, foreign exchange, currency, banking, inflation and deflation, monopoly and fair prices, the respective virtues of governmental intervention and private enterprise, wages and the position of labor, technological improvements, land values and rents, the relative position and contribution of agriculture and manufacture, population problems, taxation, protective tariffs, the function of capital accumulation, the meaning and uses of the public debt, the problem of business depression and unemployment, the effect of war in speeding up production—all these and other subjects were again and again discussed in colonial times and during the first half-century of the republic.

In order to avoid losing himself and his reader among the trees of so vast a forest, the reviewer must take refuge in a few general observations. First of all, most of the economic theory did not originate from any such specialized group as those whom we know today as professional economists. At the beginning it was—as was government and business as well—mainly a province of theology. Later came the contributions of lawyers, farmers, politicians, businessmen, journalists, bankers. Academic institutions added political economy to their curricula and textbooks were written, but for the most part their personnel and ideas were borrowed from other fields.

Of course much the same observation may be made of other branches of learning; our early leaders took it for granted that they could be jacks of all trades and masters of whatever it was that interested them at the moment. And in many cases (Benjamin Franklin may be cited as an example) they were right. Whatever the handicaps arising from lack of rigid specialization, there certainly was a richness and flexibility of culture associated with the assumption that universal knowledge was the province of the cultivated man.

Next, it is obvious that almost the only stimulus to economic thinking was concern with practical problems. Economic difficulties were never absent. There was always a clash of interests. No golden age existed when all things worked together for good. Some of the best thinkers tried disinterestedly to solve the problems; most of the writing was a more or less distilled rationalization of interest. It scarcely occurred to anybody that an economist could be or should be a scientist in an ivory tower. Nor was there ever a time when governmental policy was not invoked by all parties to economic disputes. The separation of government from business was as much a delusion at any time between 1606 and 1865 as it is today.

Economic rationalizations are more clearly evident when they concern outmoded institutions. Thus we can smile when we read that the cotton mills of Lowell or Manchester, employing children and women twelve hours a day, were exalted as educational institutions. Negro slavery was regarded by some as the device by which Providence brought about the conversion of benighted Africans to Christianity. Indeed, slavery was later defended as a form of socialism, since it eschewed the capitalist wage-system and observed the principle of "to each according to his needs."

In its higher ranges of theoretical abstraction American economic thinking was largely derivative from other countries. Most of the systematic treatises after the Revolutionary period were adaptations or modifications of the Englishmen Adam Smith and Ricardo or the Frenchman Say. Yet a good deal of effort was devoted to refuting Ricardo's theory of rent and Malthus' theory of population and wages. The landowning and speculative interests were intent on proving that the income from land did represent a contribution to the national wealth, and it seemed fairly clear that, at least in this new country, increases in population improved the status of labor rather than the reverse. One of the foreign economists who most reinforced native predilections was the German Friedrich List, who actually lived here for a while and promoted the theory that protection served the growth of the national economy.

There were original contributions, however. One of the most striking of these, in the field in which American thinkers seemed most at home—money and fiscal policy—was that of Samuel Gale, hitherto unrecognized, so far as I know. Gale, who happened to fall out with the patriots during the Revolutionary War, became assistant paymaster for the British armies and whiled away his exile by doing some concentrated thinking "On the Nature and Principles of Public Credit." He carefully elaborated the theory of the effects of increased quantity and velocity of circulation of money, the function of an increase in the public debt in enlarging the circulation and so stimulating economic activity, the function of taxation in limiting that increase in order to guard against depreciation of money, the proper rate of interest, the desirability of basing taxes not on the value of property but on what we should now call the national income, and the relativity of desirable fiscal policy to the conditions of trade. In other words—the compensatory fiscal policy of the 1930's and 1940's.

With so many early examples of more recent theories,

[1] The Economic Mind in American Civilization: 1606-1865, by Joseph Dorfman. New York: The Viking Press. Two volumes; 987 pages. $7.50.

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one is led to question whether any progress is visible in economic thinking. Do successive generations, largely ignorant of what has been written before, simply repeat the same old theories, adapted to new circumstances? Three major changes at least may be identified.

The mercantilist assumptions which were all but universal in the seventeenth century, though they continued to affect practice and are held by many "practical" men even today, became less and less respectable after the ruinous assault on them made by the classicists. Though exclusive national economic policies were advocated on other grounds, few systematic thinkers any longer believed that the purpose of foreign trade was to accumulate money.

Another change was in the attitude toward labor. In the beginning, the welfare of the workers was scarcely considered; the main desideratum was to make sure of an abundant labor supply and to keep wages down. Few advocates of labor's interest appear in these pages until the Jacksonian era, and even then there seem to be no authentic spokesmen. But there was an increasing tendency to justify theories or institutions on the ground of their supposed benefits to labor, as if the writers were answering a voice of protest that did not reach the printed page.

We know that there were unions and strikes and even advocates of socialism, not because American theorists supported collective bargaining or a socialized economy, but—so far as the evidence of this book is concerned—only because so many took the pains to oppose unions, strikes and socialism. What "socialist" theory there was in American writing was largely a matter of advocating public education or utopian colonies. But it is easy to infer that labor, which remained outside the community of interests of those who carried on the discussions, was gradually obtaining a higher status in society.

Finally, there are numerous hints in the literature that political economy could not fulfill its scientific pretensions in the absence of sufficient quantitative data. Again and again there were primitive attempts to employ statistics, together with complaints that more and better ones were not available. Some thought that because of lack of a sufficient body of facts, economics could never become a science. (Daniel Webster, wound up in theoretical inconsistencies, at one time abjured economics altogether as a combination of useless truisms and unsupported speculations.) Thus is foreshadowed the contemporary development in economic theory. We may have added little to the range of ideas, but they assume greater substance and relevance as they can be interpreted in quantitative terms.

A few comments should be made about the plan of Mr. Dorfman's book. It is confined rather exclusively to abstracts of what people wrote; it is not a political or an economic history, but essentially a bibliography. Therefore the bearing of much of its contents does not clearly appear without prior knowledge of what was actually happening. The opinions do of course reflect events, but few will want to read the book from the first page to the last, as one reads history. It is not a story conceived in terms of drama, development or interpretation. To make good use of it one must take it a little at a time and approach it through the table of contents and the index.

This is scarcely a criticism, since if the author had fully described the political and economic setting of his material,

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his book would have been far more bulky even than it is. Yet one wonders whether it is possible to write a readable history of economic thought, as one might write a history of the physical sciences or philosophy, without far more interpretation and more classification according to school and subject than Mr. Dorfman has employed. His mainly chronological arrangement is perhaps better suited to scholarly requirements. At any rate he has brought the ore out of the mine and prepared it for the smelter. Others will have to finish the process for their own varying purposes.

GEORGE SOULE

A Basis in the Clouds

The Basis of Criticism in the Arts, by Stephen C. Pepper. Cambridge: The Harvard University Press. 177 pages. $2.50.

PHILOSOPHY may have the right to tell everyone—scientist, moralist, jurist, historian or critic—what his "presuppositions" are, that his "assumptions" leak, whether his "foundations" are slipping, and so on; but the philosopher should bring no dubious prepossessions along with him—and prepossessions about the meaning of "basis" and "foundation" are among the most dangerous.

Professor Stephen C. Pepper is the author of a volume on *World Hypotheses* in which all the systems of philosophy are divided into some seven kinds, of which the likeliest, as Pepper sees them, are four—mechanism, contextualism, organicism and formism. Now sound criticism, as the present work affirms, "is the application of a sound philosophy to works of art." This premise, with the four world hypotheses, yields four critical hypotheses, which are presented to us as the "most adequate" or "best evidenced" in the field. Mechanism, as a critical theory, holds that "the worth of a work of art . . . consists in its being an object of men's preferences, likings, satisfactions, pleasures." The mechanist turned critic is a hedonist: Pater and Santayana are cited as representatives. Contextualists believe that "beauty is found in a vivid realization of the quality of a situation." John Dewey is the chief philosopher of this school. Organicism, with a base in idealistic philosophy, stresses the total organization of the artistic fact. Formism, derived from Plato and Aristotle, insists on normality and looks for "perceptions satisfying in themselves to a normal man." In a final chapter the four theories are "applied" to the criticism of two sonnets, one by Shakespeare and one by Hopkins.

This strikes me, against the intention of the author, as but one *possible arrangement* of the "types of criticism," to be justified if at all on heuristic grounds. And not a good arrangement; for, in spite of reassurances to the contrary, it is dictated by Pepper's study of metaphysics, where in fact the same question of grouping and selection comes up over again. I am afraid we have one of those conceptual straitjackets, supplied so liberally by philosophers, where principles not really arising out of the materials are fastened on them from above.

Logically, the theoretical framework is otiose. There is a sense, certainly, in which every brand of criticism must "reflect" some cosmology and some methodology. Organicism, for example, is a philosophy that sees everything held together in a network of internal relationships. Coleridge was attracted to this system, Bosanquet was possessed by it; and behold, in the esthetics of either, a great emphasis on organic unity, integration, the rightness and necessity of this part as being called for by that. One can see that a person who talks in a certain way about the world might talk in a certain way about art—but that is not the question. The question is whether he would be logically committed to particular tastes, a particular esthetic; or, conversely, whether one who admits the value of Coleridge's insights thereby furnishes evidence for a particular view of nature. For all that Pepper or anyone else has shown, a mechanist like Laplace could, ideally, take care of *Gestalt* phenomena in perception at least as well as Hegel—though he might not be psychologically predisposed to notice them. The postulate that sound criticism is the application of a sound philosophy assumes what should not be assumed but examined. Is it self-evident that if God *did* create the world, sound criticism would have to be theistic?

The critical theories, taken by themselves, are strikingly vague. It is not at all certain that "vivid intuitions of quality" (contextualism) means anything even slightly different from what is meant by "pleasurable sense-perception" (mechanism). An even better case is provided by the choice between mechanism and organicism. Mr. Pepper's hedonist is an atomist, of the kind that hacks bleeding fragments out of poetry and examines them separately for affective tone. His talk is all about consonants, vowels, associations, "beauties," sources of pleasure, conceived as added together to give a total effect. The Hopkins sonnet, "I wake and feel the fell of dark, not day," he interprets as a poem about insomnia—being obliged, apparently, by his theory not to perceive the meaning of the poem as a whole. Is it an implication of hedonist esthetics that it should misconstrue poetry, ignore the dependence of part on part, blind itself to the main sources of enjoyment? I think not; and if not, it may be that hedonism and organicism are not empirical alternatives. Clearly, this issue calls for semantic analysis. But Mr. Pepper would force us to weigh the claims of competing "hypotheses," each with its quota of "evidence." Even if his hypotheses were clear, they would not be *hypotheses*. The main thesis of this book is that critical judgments are "factual judgments of a certain kind, purporting to be true." But the argument never reckons with the obvious objection: that criticism is evaluation and that evaluation is not statement, or not pure statement.

Pepper's approach is unsound because the sound approach to criticism for a philosopher would be analytical, not speculative. The analysis of anything begins with the thing in the rough—in this case, with the *practice* of criticism as it exists, unschematized. There are already, in books of criticism, passages as successful as any that will ever be written; and there are bad, futile, irrelevant passages. But what is *meant* by success and failure, good and bad, has never to my knowledge been clarified. Are these terms identical in meaning with "true" and "false"—the norms to which statements of fact are submitted; and if not, what method then do we use when we call one piece of criticism stupid and another illuminating? To study this question is to look for a basis *beneath* the phenomena of criticism, not somewhere above them in the clouds.

ARNOLD ISENBERG

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The Emperor's New Clothes

David the King, by Gladys Schmitt. New York: The Dial Press. 631 pages. $3.

IT IS A temptation to call *David the King* a great improvement on the Bible, and let it go at that. A more recent book, it is written from a fresher point of view; and if a tale is supposed to hold children from play and old men from the chimney corner, *David* has the advantage over its predecessor, first of all, in that it is a tale, and second, in that it appeals to the in-between crowd as well.

But it is unnecessary to strive after ironies when so many are provided, gratis, by the novel itself. The most remarkable of these is that *David*, which is slated to become a prodigious best-seller—a Literary Guild and Religious Book Club selection, 825,000 copies in print on publication day—is also a prodigiously unreadable book. I don't imagine that its unreadableness will seriously interfere with its sales—the public is willing to suffer certain inconveniences in its pursuit of high art—but it does interfere with its claim to literature.

David's difficulties are of the essence of artiness rather than art. Miss Schmitt, faced with the bleakness and violence, the abstract grandeur of the Bible's version of the David story, has undertaken a translation into what has become known, largely through the influence of romantic and historical fiction, as human terms. This requires a suitable style. So, instead of maintaining the harsh Biblical utterance, whose poetry is like the exceptional flower's desert growth, Miss Schmitt has planted poems and flowers everywhere, and the prevailing atmosphere is nothing bleak, but rather the glassed-in, humid and balmy air of the conservatory. David has "a pale skin—the sun, loving it, had touched it with the mild gold of honey." When he comes upon Bath-Sheba at her bath

> . . . there was a mist before his eyes. Her long, loose robe and her pale face shimmered before him. The wind . . . drove her shining hair forward against her cheeks, and her cheeks were as fresh and delicate as the foam on new milk. She [let] the benediction of the wind pass over her. . . . The white linen billowed down behind her and she stood naked against the cool green sky. . . .
>
> She had the cool perfection of the crescent moon set in the vast arc of the firmament.

This is Miss Schmitt's style at its best; and even in its lesser moments when, like the Bible, it must deal with genealogies and court politics, it never halts or falters, as Scripture does, but keeps up the steady rhythm, something like a camel's gait, that graces its pages.

I find this sort of thing very hard to take, even in short snatches. And when it is laid on, page after page, with an extravagance that would be reckless if the thing so dispensed were valuable, and in such utter seriousness and dullness, with never a ray of self-insight penetrating the arty fog, I know that I'm licked.

But the trouble does not end here. The human terms into which Miss Schmitt translates her story demand that the abstract Biblical monarch become an intelligible man. As a general prescription, the literary representation of humanity requires concreteness, significant detail, fidelity to man's contrary nature, and the incorporation, among other things, of the moods, passions, enjoyments and sufferings of daily life. But Miss Schmitt has taken the prescription so literally, and administered such an overdose to her poor prototype, that her resolution to make a man out of David is absolutely merciless. Nothing is too good for him: if moonlight is needed on a certain night, or a breeze, the flickering of a torch or blowing of a curtain, he shall have them. Is it the pressure of a hand, a look cast across a room, a smile, a sigh, the memory of a garden at evening time, rain dripping from the leaves? Then he shall have them, even these, for is he not a living King in Judah and in Israel? No, now, for when David is thus swathed and wrapped and embellished in clothes cut after the stamp of man, he is anything but living; the breath is smothered out of him. And he is anything but a king. He is our old friend, *l'homme moyen sensuel*, and, as is nearly always the case with this creature, the *homme* in him is wholly contained in the *sensuel*. David's kingship is established by his sexual excitability.

Historical fiction of this type, looking for a principle to bring together past and present, hits upon sex as the constant of all times. Enlightened by this discovery, our novelists need no longer repeat, say, the primitive simplicities of myth-making at the Biblical level or engage in intellectual subtleties of myth-remaking at Thomas Mann's level. Avoiding both extremes, they can let their understanding pursue its middle course, true to the brow from which it flows. What materialism is to the Marxist, sex is to our novelists as a category for understanding history. It is to Miss Schmitt's everlasting distinction that she has managed to make sex dull.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

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The War in the Pacific

Night Work, by Fletcher Pratt. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 267 pages. $3.
The Great Pacific Victory, by Gilbert Cant. New York: The John Day Company. 422 pages. $3.50.

AMATEUR naval strategists who want to compare their own chairborne campaigns with those actually carried out by the Navy will be rewarded by reading Fletcher Pratt's and Gilbert Cant's new books. Both authors have marshaled the bewildering details of the Pacific campaign and so arranged them that the layman can finally grasp the meaning of the war fought by the Navy and the great achievement of that branch of the service.

Mr. Pratt's book deals primarily with the little-publicized but highly effective Task Force 39, known as the "Hollywood Squadron," because the movie actor Robert Montgomery was aboard one of the ships. The squadron, which consisted of four cruisers with green crews, and a complementary number of destroyers and auxiliary vessels, was given the tough assignment of stopping the Tokyo Express. The work was done mostly at night, and often against superior enemy forces. But Admiral "Tip" Merrill, to whom the book is dédicated, was a shrewd leader and the only squadron commander who never lost a ship in the Slot. He picked up Task Force 39 in 1943, when the Nipponese were still riding high, and molded it into a fighting unit which became the pride of the Navy.

The author knows the Navy and its lingo. The sea war holds no mysteries for him. However, his brief sketches of the top brass who helped "Tip" Merrill in sending the Tokyo Express to Davey Jones's locker, do not come off as well as his descriptions of actual warfare. Like many a war correspondent dazzled by rank, Pratt goes overboard about the admirals and captains, and one wonders whether he ever ventured into the ship's hold where the enlisted men lived. About the only time the men are mentioned is when a detail is got up among them to build an officers' club. And officers' clubs there were aplenty, stretching all the way across the chain of conquered islands from Pearl Harbor to Australia. But according to Pratt, Merrill was a shrewd and democratic boss who knew how to keep up morale.

Task Force 39 never hit the headlines, but it hit the Japanese plenty hard until they literally saw double. The enemy was tenacious and often resourceful, and therefore it is somewhat disconcerting to have them referred to as "monkeys" by the author. The men who fought the war know the Japanese as a crafty opponent. Nor is it gracious to refer to the natives of the islands as "gooks" whose women were "incredibly repulsive." These same "gooks" saved many an American flyer and sailor, and admittedly did their share in bringing about our victory.

The Great Pacific Victory gives an excellent picture of the combined operations of all the services from the Solomons to Okinawa. It wasn't all smooth sailing, and the top men in the Army and Navy did not always agree on spheres of influence, tactics and targets. The author does not gloss over the mistakes that cost thousands of American lives, nor does he waste his time distributing laurels to the men whose public-relations minions glorified them in the newspapers back home. Advocates of unification of the services will find some worthwhile arguments in this book.

The Japanese looked good when they were winning, and their winning streak was long. They hadn't met up with "Bull" Halsey at the time, although he was gunning for them even before the attack on Pearl Harbor when he issued his famous "Battle Order No. 1," instructing his men to shoot at the Japanese on sight. The order was never carried out because the Japanese steaming toward Pearl Harbor for the sneak punch missed Halsey's forces.

An interesting point is made in comparing the Japanese fighting man with our own. "Not one in ten [Americans] had had the military training or experience comparable with those of the Japanese who had practised in Manchuria and China proper. Not one in ten had any active desire to fight the Japanese or any other aggressor. Indeed, the greatest weakness in morale among the American fighting men was that they had no clear conception of why they had to fight. Fearful of a jealous Congress, the War Department sedulously avoided giving the United States Army men any indoctrination which bordered on the political." For this neglect, which cost us dearly, "the War Department and the Congress must take the blame."

As a military technician, the American was far superior to his adversary; he was more adaptable to changes of plans and circumstances. In the early stages of the war our preponderant weight in guns and ships was still in the blueprint stage. Our men were outgunned and outnumbered, but not outwitted. Audacity was the order of the day; audacity and clever planning in which Nimitz played an all-important part, according to Mr. Cant.

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An example of American resourcefulness was the cracking of the Japanese code. It often gave us a foreknowledge of the enemy's moves, and was directly responsible for the "strange death of Yamamoto," a mystery the Japanese did not solve until after the war. The remarkable incident of the Admiral's demise started with a top-secret dispatch delivered to the Commander, Air, Solomons. This message outlined in detail the itinerary of Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet, during an inspection tour of the Japanese bases. It stated the time he would leave Rabaul, the type of plane he would travel in, and the strength of his escort. Frank Knox signed the message. American P-38's intercepted the Admiral and his staff and did in all of them. The code was cracked a year before Yamamoto's fatal trip.

America's might came into its own when the aircraft carrier appeared on the scene, establishing "a new principle in naval warfare." The mobile, carrier-based air force, "used in a properly balanced fleet so that it need fear no encounter with any enemy fleet under any circumstances," swept the enemy from the seas. Meanwhile, the leap-frog campaign stabbed deeply into the Nipponese "inner fortress," chopping away relentlessly at the weakening tentacles.

The B-29's, the atomic bomb and the Russians, whose decision to enter the Pacific War Cant mistakenly attributes to an agreement arrived at in Potsdam, though in reality the date of Russia's entry had been set by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin much earlier—these three factors put the finishing touches to Hirohito's co-prosperity dreams. The author treats of the strategy, and the men who made the strategy. He takes the reader along on some of the bloody expeditions, particularly Tarawa, Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

The Great Pacific Victory covers a lot of territory well.

LOUIS FALSTEIN

Cornish Pasty

West-Country Stories, by A. L. Rowse. New York: The Macmillan Company. 222 pages. $2.50.

You drive through Plymouth and Devonport, down the Ferry Road, and cross the water to Torpoint. Then if you stop at a local pub near the ferry, an oldster may lift his glass to you, grin and offer the toast, "Fish, tin and copper." That will mean that at last you're in Cornwall whose ancient fame was built upon those three British essentials and which is now a maddening alternation of heavenly scenery and crass bathing resorts.

Too many people, says Professor Rowse, form their opinion of Cornwall solely from a summer holiday's glimpse at the famous coast, too few know the less-frequented uplands where perhaps you'll find more of the old, authentic Cornish life with its odd dialect, its legends, its clotted cream and its famous pasties. Therefore the Professor, who, when not an Oxford don, is a Cornish writer and historian, has done his best to bypass the noisy popularity of Falmouth, Penzance, Land's End and St. Ives in a series of essays, tales and other literary oddments relating more to the Cornwall he knows and loves than to the trippers' paradise.

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He does a fine job of reporting local speech in a dialect monologue called "How Dick Stephens Fought the Bear." And for some bits of a specialist's history which, I must admit, will be caviar to the general, particularly in the United States, he burrows back to the days of Elizabeth, Raleigh and Cromwell for essay-material linked to his native county. Incidentally, one of his titles is about the most lyrical and beckoning I have ever known: "The Wicked Vicar of Lansillian."

Despite the purity of Professor Rowse's writing and intention, I should think his American sales would be negligible. Apparently the Macmillan people here think so too, for instead of bringing out an American printing of *West-Country Stories*, they have imported bound copies of the London edition. With the British paper shortage what it is, it may be assumed that not many copies can be shipped overseas. Therefore those who think they would enjoy the donnish charm of Professor Rowse should run, not walk, to the nearest bookshop. DENIS PLIMMER

A Reader's List

BRAZIL: PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS, by T. Lynn Smith (Louisiana State, $6.50). Brazil is destined to play an increasingly important role in international politics if only because of her vast economic potentialities. This volume gives detailed information on the country's natural wealth and discusses the social setting in which it is found and which will determine the nature of its exploitation. There are useful chapters on land settlement and land tenure; statistics on population; the racial question; social institutions such as the family, school, church and government; levels and standards of living. Both historical and factual in its approach, this book satisfies a real need for information about a little-explored country.

MAN OF BRITTANY, by Selwyn James (Simon and Schuster, $2.50). Louis Travadel, a fiercely provincial Breton, at first thinks of the Germans only as a temporary nuisance. Reluctantly, he becomes an outcast, kills several German soldiers and finds himself an underground leader before he really knows why. Mr. James manages successfully to portray a primitive, strong-willed and unreflecting farmer, but Travadel's education and conversion by the Communist leader Dony is less convincing. Mr. James is almost too careful a writer; he pays so much attention to the particulars of his characters, to their reactions to one another, that the climax of the book, though well prepared, doesn't come off. The one memorable figure is the 12-year-old Jacques, an efficient knife-thrower, a fierce individualist and a homesick, bewildered child.

Crime and Punishment

SOMEWHERE IN THE HOUSE, by Elizabeth Daly (Rinehart, $2). Henry Gamadge, the bibliophile-sleuth, runs into a curious set-up at the Clayborn mansion—six frustrated people forced to live together for twenty years by the terms of a will. The day of their release coincides with the discovery of an old murder in a room that had been sealed up twenty years before, and Gamadge has a lot of trouble exposing a clever murder. A rather fancy-pants yarn.

DANGEROUS GROUND, by Francis Sill Wickware (Crime Club, $2). Dr. Rawley, ex-psychiatrist, takes up general practice in Fairbridge and soon meets the town's leading citizen, Charles Wilson, and his pretty young wife, Serena. Rawley recognizes Wilson as a former—and dangerously paranoid—patient in a sanitarium; at that time Serena had been his nurse. When Wilson dies of cyanide poisoning, Serena is indicted for his murder. Rawley enters the case and by means of some rather unorthodox psychiatric experiments, fixes the crime on the guilty person. A welcome relief from standard-brand.

THE UNSUSPECTED CHASM, by Michael Innes (Dodd, Mead, $2). This particularly extravagant extravaganza concerns the accidental involvement of Richard Meredith, scholar and patriot, with the doings of the International Society for the Diffusion of Cultural Objects—art thieves to you. Mr. Innes has never been more recondite or long-winded, and the few moments of fun or excitement he provides in a tale whose action ranges from the Scottish Highlands to Darkest America, are hard bought. E. H.

New Republic News

Maybe you've noticed: we've been swabbing up and painting the old ship for quite a time now. We polled two thousand *NR* readers. They wanted their magazine to be brighter, livelier, more rounded, more hard-hitting. We're doing our best.

One step forward is the editorial section. Some of our editorials are being written by Michael Straight, others in Washington. We get them from the top newspapermen in every phase of national policy. Their names are all well known to you. We can't tell you who they are because their papers wouldn't like it.

Norman Grieser, our new managing editor, is still rushing around saying: Why don't we print on slick paper? Why don't we hit the newsstands on the Coast on Fridays? Why don't we put an outboard motor on the ship on the cover to speed it up? Why don't we have a million readers? One of our subscribers says we should have thirty million. We're compromising on a quick hundred thousand. We need your help.

David Owen, an old PEP friend of the *NR*, now executive assistant to the UNO's Secretary General, Trygve Lie, came around to the office for lunch last week. He told us about his troubles in getting the UNO settled into its temporary site at Hunter College in the Bronx. One of the principal things on his mind is where he himself is going to live. Any suggestions from *NR* New Yorkers?

Congratulations to a Contributing Editor, Julian Huxley. He's chairman of the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO, a really important job.

Contributors

BERNADINE CUSTER, who studied at the Art Institute of Chicago, has had several one-man shows and is connected with the Downtown Gallery in New York City. She has exhibited in group shows in Cincinnati, New York, Philadelphia, Washington and other cities. Her work is in the permanent collections of several museums and collections, including Brooklyn, Detroit, the Metropolitan, the White House and the Whitney (New York).

ARNOLD ISENBERG is an instructor in the department of Philosophy at Queens College.

LOUIS FALSTEIN is free-lancing and working on a novel about the war. He lives in New York City.

DENIS PLIMMER, a former editor of the Overseas Branch of the OWI and a Foreign News Editor of *Time*, is completing a book on Russian foreign policy, to be published by Dodd, Mead.

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Linden, New Jersey: W. D. has two children. The family faces immediate eviction because it is two months behind in paying rent. There is no money to heat the house or feed the children.

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